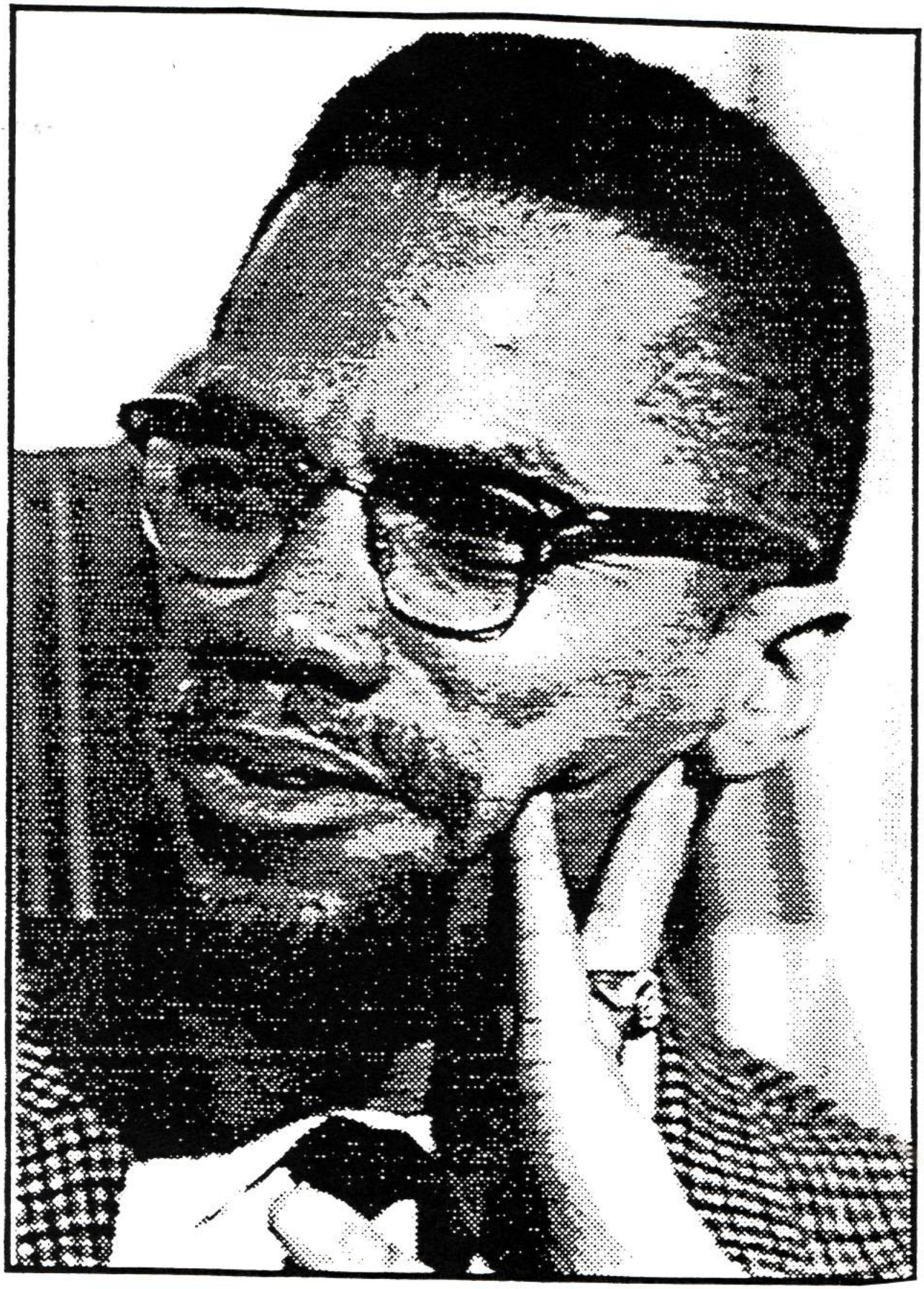
Anti-Racist Action Network Bulletin #6



ARA Network Bulletin #6 Comin' atcha

This bulletin contains proposals and ideas to be discussed by all the ARA chapters before the Delegate meeting in Chicago on June 7&8. So make sure everyone in you're chapter gets a copy so discussion can get rollin'.

Mpls and Columbus ARA has offered to contribute some funds to a chapter/s that needs help getting a Delegate to Chicago. Please call our hotline or e-mail us ASAP if this is the case. (Mpls has about $300.00 to offer. We want to prioritize ARA's that are far from Chicago and don't have lots of cash but want to send at least one person so they can at least have a Delegate. Columbus should set it's own criteria.) Columbus ARA Hotline: 614-424-9074 or ara@coil.com (see Mpls Hotline and e-mail below)

Contents:

Delegate Meeting Proposals
Scene Reports
Debate
ARA Reader*

****this section is for readings that we think will help the Network collectively educate itself. So if you come across something that you think everyone should read and it's a reasonable length send it on in.***

Deadline for Bulletin #7 is AUGUST 1

Minneapolis ARA, Network Bulletin
POB 80239, Mpls, MN 55408
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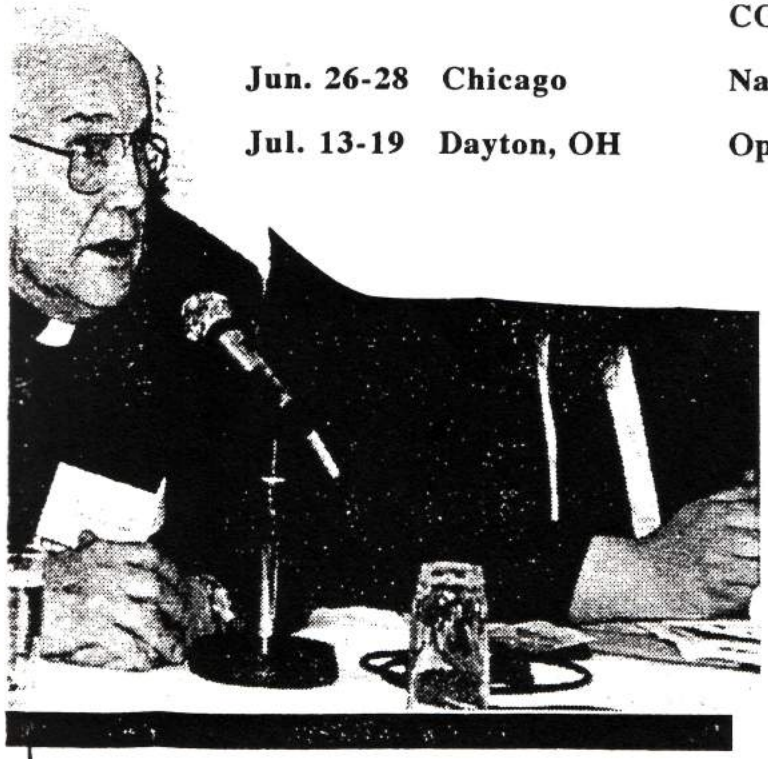
612-649-4586

fight the right calendar

Jun 14	**Herndon, VA**	**Conference- *The Truth About Life Issues in Today's World: Discerning the Culture of Death in Our Times.* Rev. Richard Hogan, Priests For Life**
Jun. 21	**Bradley, ILL**	**Klan Rally at the townhall. Bradley is 40 miles south of Chicago near Kankakee. COLUMBUS ARA IS GOING.**
Jun. 26-28	**Chicago**	**National Right To Life Convention**
Jul. 13-19	**Dayton, OH**	**Operation Rescue "National Event"**



We beg you to tone down your rhetoric. Pro-abortion anarchists, gay activists, and radical feminists already threaten demonstrations against the thousands of peaceful pro-lifers who will assemble with us next week. Please don't contribute further to this climate of hate and intolerance by repeating slanders that are not true.

Please don't abandon your sheep to the lies and violence of the Culture of Death.
Sincerely Yours in Christ,

Human Life International

And Our Friends and Supporters Around The World

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Delegate Meeting Proposals

- **ara network delegate's meeting** by chicago ara
- **agenda items proposal** by paul/ann arbor ara
- **delegate meeting agenda ideas** by mpls ara
- **jenny from philly ara on delegates meeting**
- **points of unity:suggested content changes** by mpls ara

ARA NETWORK DELEGATE'S MEETING
CHICAGO

Saturday JUNE 7th and Sunday JUNE 8th

For Info:
(773) 278-0775
(312) 512-5828 pager (emergencies only please)
sprite@lorax.antioch.edu

What is the Network Delegate's Meeting?
At the last ARA Network meeting in Columbus, ARA-Net adopted a decision-making body called the Network Committee (NC). The NC would consist of two delegates/votes from each local group. The NC would have no permanent members, only delegates representing their local groups point of view. Delegates are not "leaders" of their group but merely representatives of their groups opinion. Also, the NC would strive to make decisions by consensus, but go with a majority vote when needed.

Currently, only active ARA or ARA-type groups can send delegates to the NC. Specific political networks, federations, etc are not eligible to send delegates. There has been discussion on allowing caucuses composed of members of oppressed groups to also send delegates, but this has not yet been decided by the Network.

The NC will make decisions during this meeting that relate to the Network as a whole. Specific proposals have been sent to the ARA-Net Bulletin so that locals could meet, discuss, and decide on them in advance. A list of the proposals made so far is included in the agenda below. Because this is ARA-Net's first NC meeting, we will make allowances in the schedule for a few last-minute proposals on Sunday, if there is time. If you need to raise a proposal that has not yet been published in the Bulletin, please bring at least 50 copies of it to disseminate to the NC on Saturday, so they have time to consider it.

There will definitely be some rough spots in our structure that we'll need to smooth out. It is important that local groups come prepared, having looked over, discussed, and decided upon the proposals locally, and chosen two delegates to represent their opinion.

Who should come?

It is important that each active ARA local send two chosen Delegates to this meeting. If a local has financial restrictions, etc and can send only one Delegate, that's fine, s/he'll count for two votes.

Other members of ARA-Net are expected and encouraged to come. We want as open a discussion as possible.

Schedule and Agenda

This is an extremely tentative agenda. We are expecting a few more proposals to be forthcoming in the next Bulletin, and expecting people to want to make some changes.

Friday, June 6th: Arriving, getting set up for crash space, etc. We'll probably arrange a party or something this night.

Saturday, June 7th:

9am: Introductions, and quick local reports.

10am: Quick Agenda discussion, changes, additions.

10:30am: Network Structure Discussion: delegates and representation, developing the Network, fundraising, resource-sharing, communicating, regional approaches.

1pm: Break for Lunch

1:30pm-4pm Proposal Discussions (half hour for each)

--Yearly ARA Office formation (proposed by Jason/Detroit)

--Creation of Campaign to stop relocation of the Dineh Nation (Jason/Detroit)

--Creation of Campaign for Political Prisoners/POWs and against prisons (Jason/Detroit)

--Proposal to Modify the Points of Unity (AZ/Chicago)

--ARA Listserv Proposal (Gerry & Toronto folks)

4pm-6pm: Open space for:

--Proposals made in the upcoming discussion bulletin

--Overflow from previous discussions
6-7pm: Dinner break
7-9pm: Workshops and Meetings on:
--establishing ARA groups
--planning meeting for October ARA-Net conference.
--working group meeting: Campaign Against White Power Music
--Rock Against Racism (Toronto)
--Anti-Native/Anti-Indian Movements (Toronto)

Sunday, June 8th: Left Open for overflow discussions from previous day, last-minute proposals, and just about anything else. We figure to wrap things up in the afternoon.

Directions

We are using Myopic Books as a check-in point. It is located at 1726 W. Division in Chicago, (773)862-4882 (please only call if you get lost), and is open to 11am to 1am. You can pick up info packets on the conference, where to crash, etc. there.

Important!--If you will be arriving in Chicago after 1am or before 11am, call us in advance to work out where to go--(773)278-0775. If you arrive in Chicago and are lost, clueless, etc, you can page Sprite at (312)512-5828 for emergency info.

To get to Myopic by car: From whatever direction you come, you want to get on I-90/94, the expressway that runs right through Chicago. You want to take the Division Street exit (a bit North of the donwtown area) and turn West onto Division (away from the lake). If you cross a bridge you're going the wrong way. Going West on Division, you will first cross Milwaukee, then Ashland Avenues. Myopic Books is a little over a block past Ashland, on the N side of the street, at 1726 W. Division.

If you're coming by train, plane, or bus, just ask at the station or follow the signs to the "el" (our subway/train system). You want to take the Blue Line (also known as the "O'Hare line") to the Division Street stop. Get off there, and you will be at the intersection of Milwaukee, Ashland, and Division. You want to head West on Division (going between the Pizza Hut and Manufacturers Bank) a little over a block, to Myopic Books, 1726

W. Division.

General Info

If you can, call (773-278-0775) or e-mail us (sprite@lorax.antioch.edu) in advance and let us know how many people are coming from your chapter and how many we need to find crash space for.

There aren't really any hotels in our area of town. If you really want to stay at one, be expecting to drive or commute a fair ways. Call us if you need help finding one.

The only meal we will be providing is Lunch. So please bring food or prepare to eat out. There's plenty of good Mexican and Thai places in the area, as well as cafes and diners.

AUTONOMOUS ZONE INFOSHOP
Anarchist-Community-Activist Resource Center
currently in storage :(
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http://www.ecnet.net/users/uaadams/azone.html
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Agenda Items Proposal

by Paul, Ann Arbor

LIST OF SOME PROPOSED AGENDA ITEMS FOR THE UPCOMING ARANET CHAPTER DELEGATES MEETING
(not necessarily complete and in no particular order. This is just a running list of items I believe we need to discuss):

--Toward a process for making decisions on behalf of ARAnet
--Security issues
--Email list issues (some of which is security-related)
--On developing a Network-wide newsletter and web site
--Finances/Fundraising
--October conference planning
--Idea of establishing ARAnet "task forces" to coordinate work on ongoing issues/campaigns (e.g. political prisoners/POW's; police brutality/Copwatch, etc.)
--Sharing resources between chapters: how to improve this
--Improving communication/coordination within ARAnet (idea of regional contacts, other suggestions for administration of Network)
--Political discussion: "What do we mean by 'fascism'?" and "What time is it?" (how do we view the current political situation with regard to the growth of the far right and how does ARA fit in in fighting this).
--Chapter reports and chapter "inventory"
--Coordinating Network-wide campaigns (this may fit under other items)
--Expanding the 4 points to include other points of unity
--Tactics at antifascist demos (the "pens", confronting boneheads, and other tactical issues)
--Expanding connections with antifascist groups in other countries
--Upcoming actions/announcements

There are probably other items which should be on this list. If our meeting goes for both days, we should be able to get to these items, but probably not much more...

Paul L.
member, Free Mumia Coalition/ARA Ann Arbor
member, Trotskyist League/US

Delegate Meeting Agenda Ideas

by Mpls ARA

•Scene reports
•points of unity(clarification and additions)
•International Anti-Fascist Action Conference- ARA Network participation
•Upcoming ARA Network Conference in Columbus, speakers/workshop ideas
•National Campaigns: Church Burnings, Big Mountain, Mumia Abu Jamal, Resistance Records, the Christian Right, Anti-Klan rallies, Copwatch
•Security
•Starter Kit
•Office Proposal
•Fundraising/resources
•Internet stuff
•Facilitating better communication within the network and making decisions in between conferences.

Jenny from Philly ARA on Delegates Mtg.

And here is something for y'all to think on and hopefully talk about at the June 7 Delegates thing

I feel we really need to do tighter work around who what when chapters get set up. When I tried to contact the Pittsburgh ARA and got no response I was pissed-and fearing the worst. Such as did the bad guys set up a fake pob to intercept mail. But no my worst fears were not realized and the chapter was run by one or two high school kids. I also have experienced other flakiness from other chapters in my region. This is NOT to disrepect the work Columbus does or to dis people younger than me.

But face it,I was a high school activist years ago and I was restricted by my age,resourses and parents on how much I could do. I think its excellent that youth want to do shit about racism but we all have different limits on waht we can get done.

Chapters are popping up all over but *how much LONG-TERM commitment* is there to a chapter? What if shit hits the fan and people cannot be relied upon? What about the QUALITY of the work? I'd rather have 10 chapters that I fuckin' know I can call on as opposed to 30 that may or may not come thru.

I feel we do need more structure and especially now that we have a wide base-we must deepen that base. People need to have references before they are formally a part of the network. Potential chapters need either a good reference or some time before they are announced and listed as a chapter. I check out the new chapters in my region and get to know who's in it and what they are doing. At this time I have no set proposals or ideas but I will bring more concrete things to the delegates meeting.

Points of Unity: Suggested Content Changes
by Minneapolis ARA

Points of Unity -reprinted on next Page

We have some ideas about ways of clarifying and expanding the ARA Network ~~Points of~~ Unity. The following are suggestions. We will work these suggestions into a rewording that we'll bring to the Delegate meeting as a proposal. Sorry we couldn't come up with a rewording before the meeting but hopefully the content ideas are enough for now.

•We think the first point, "we go where they go", should include the christian right as well as nazis.

•We think the second point about the cops and courts should make a stronger statement about the role of the police and the court system as perpertrators of racism in our society. We do not think we should work with the police and we view them as our enemy.

•We think the fourth point should also talk about how we also challenge oppression (for example sexism or homophobia) when it crops up internally within our groups.

• Maybe we should clarify that we challenge racism in all it's forms whether it be the racism of fascist groups like the klan or nazis, or the insitutional racism of the state i.e. the cops.

•Add a point about how ARA's should strive to empower all it's members to be active participants and struggle against internal hierachies that may prevent all members from feeling like a part of things.

•Add something about how we are direct action oriented, about how we are not going to rely on the government to end racism (in fact we expect just the opposite), and how we need to take up this struggle actively as grassroots activists. Maybe add it to the point about the cops and the court or make it a separate point.

•In point #4 take out "weakest of our people."

THE FOUR PRINCIPLES OF THE ANTI-RACIST ACTION NETWORK (ARA-NET)

1) We go where they go. Whenever fascists are organizaing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the nazis have the streets.

2) Don't rely on the cops or the courts to do our work. This doesn't mean we don't ever go to court. But we must rely on ourselves to protect ourselves and to stop the fascists.

3) Non-sectarian defense of other anti-fascists. In ARA-NET, we have lots of groups and individuals. We don't agree about everything, and we have a right to differ openly. But in this movement an attack on one is an attack on us all. We stand behind each other.

4) ARA-NET intends to do the hard work necessary to build a broad, strong movement against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest, and the weakest of our people. We intend to win.

-adapted October 1995-

Scene Reports

- columbus
- kent
- philadelphia
- minneapolis
- montreal
- toronto
- LA
- k-w
- athens
- baltimore
- louisville
- katy
- harlem

Columbus ARA Report

by Don

Hey there, just some things as to how we are doing here:

Great, just great. Mac has done some dates with the Bosstones on the road with them, and they (the Bosstones) are going to be here this Thursday. The night before, we're having a little get together with them and some peple from here.

I've recently gotten a financial shotin the arm, which means that the computer capability here is going to increase by another computer. Also, there are plans afoot to put another computer in the office, this one will most likely be a Mac as well. This will also mean that the work on the WWW page will be done a lot more.

Speaking of the web page, since May 6, the page has received 160 hits. This number is steadily increasing. I'm hoping to get an article about hate speech/etc on the Web and on the Internet in general, if anyone has anything to contribute, let me know, or email me at don@lorax.antioch.edu And hopefully an article will get more word out about the web page, and the site will be visited more, and we will grow by leaps and bounds and take over the world, etc etc etc.

Anti-Fest is this weekend. Anyone planning to come down/over/up/etc let us know here.

Josh is starting to help out with the Internet side of things, and once my system gets up and running, he's going to be free to get into the house while we're at work and use the computer there and learn all he wants to.

Well, that's about all for now as far as I know. Keep in touch.
Don/Columbus ARA

Kent, Ohio ARA Report

On May 3rd, at 8:00 PM there is a free event at the Kiva at KSU being sponsored by the May 4th Task Force. This is one of several events that weekend to commemorate the Kent State shootings on May 4th, 1970. There is also an observance of the shootings of two Black students at Jackson State at around the same time. The program on the evening of May 3rd is titled "Casualties of War: Uprooting Racism & Colonialism." This is a special, and somewhat unusual, event, because Student Anti-Racist Action - KSU is sponsoring a speaker at this event: Michael Novick. Novick will give a speech titled "Uprooting Racism & Colonialism: The Fight Against White Supremacy and Reactionary Violence." Also speaking on May 3rd will be Ronald Kuby, the former law partner of William Kunstler. At midnight after there will be a march in rememberance of the 4 students slain on May 4th. The next day there will be a large speak-out from 12 - 2 with almost 20 speakers. The May 4th Commemoration is always a great thing to be part of, but this one is special for anti-racist activists with the presense of Michael Novick and civil rights attorney Ron Kuby on May 3rd. We encourage other chapters within a few hours drive to come to this.

Kerry Dobransky, an ARA-Kent member, has written a response to a highly homophobic column printed in the Daily Kent Stater this week. His response will more than likely run early next week.

Hillel and Jewish United Students for Today and Tomorrow are sponsoring a Holocaust Memorial Week, and in the Music Listening Center are displays of posters with photos taken during the Holocaust, and photos taken by visitors at the Holocaust Museum. Today they had a reception, and there we a couple Holocaust survivors there. I had a chance to be there at the tail end of the reception and check out the exibit. I will try to make sure everyone I speak with for the remainder of the week stop by, as it is an amazing thing to see.

Next Tuesday, we are trying to combine our weekly meeting with a special C.A.R.E. presentation on the struggle of the Sovereign Dineh Nation in Big Mountain. More details to come.

Next Friday, we will be traveling with Black United Students to Columbus in support of the Miami University students. More info to come.

In solidarity,
Ben Interbang, ARA-Kent / Student Anti-Racist Action

Philadelphia ARA Report

by Jenny, Phillie ARA

APRIL 5TH ANTI-KLAN DEMO IN PITTSBURGH

About 2500 people (mostly locals) came out to Grant St. to confront and protest Ed Fosters' American Knights of the KKK. Also represented in the moronic minions was the Hitler Free Korps from Philly. Tho there was disagreement with the Grant St. Coalition on confronting Klan supporters in the crowd-I'd say all went well. The Grant St. people did a fine job of media manipulation (hence all the locals and average people who came out) People from Philly, Detroit, Columbus, Ann Arbor and many other ARA's came out. I want to thank you all for coming to PA an giving your support-Fuck yeah!

REPORT ON APRIL 27 NO CUTBACKS DEMO IN PHILLY

On Sunday, the 27th Clinton, Bush, Carter, Powell and other politicans and other master manipulators came to this fair town for a "Volunteerism Summit" The National Peoples' Campaign (And to a job well done in their organizing!) issued the call to protest the hypocracy of this summit. Their demands were many: No cutbacks in welfare and social services, Real wages, Free Mumia and Peltier, just to name a few.

It was good to see so many locals and out of towners come out for this rally. And a multitude of groups were represented. (Like ARA Philly,ahem) About 5,000 came out and what would ya know the mainstream press tried to tuck it away as usual. But many average folk on the street were supportive of the rally. all in all it was important to show some resistance to the smokescreen of volunteerism.

MAY 3RD PP/POW CONFERENCE IN PHILLY

Which was convened by Marpessa Kupendua and Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin-dealt with issues around Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War in the US and also with some Prison issues such as Control units and the racism of the crminal justice system. The aim of the conference was to solidify the outside support movement and to define and find PP/POW's. And it also focused on the Racist and Classist Death Penalty. People from Philly, Detriot and Ann Arbor ARA were present and we will be participating in the network that will arise from this conference.

sorry - this report was accidentally omitted from the last Bulletin. My fuck-up - -Justine

PHILLY SCENE REPORTS AND NEWS

THE BAD NEWS; The Wooden Shoe bookstore was destroyed by fire Wed. Feb. 12th. The cause was electrical and what smoke and fire did not destroy, water did. The collective that runs the store is planning to re-group and open another Shoe in the future. After all the BS with the insurance is dealt with and a new space is found. We all will miss that little den of anarchy in Center City Philly.

THE GOOD NEWS, SORT OF; Mark Thomas is sitting in a jail cell somewhere in this hate state we call Pennsylvania.We knew he had heat on him for a while and on Jan. 30 he turned himself in. But now as some of you know he has plead guilty to his charges and is cooperating with the authorities (Can I comment on how much of a fucking low life asshole this guy is-oh don't get me started!) Turning his back on all the other morons in the racist movement. Just to save his sorry ass, 20 years of preaching hate advocating violence (remember the Freeman family?) and now that he is facing jail time, he chooses to squeal.I am glad he is out of commission in the hate movement tho' and I wonder what will come of the upcoming trials.Hmm.

We here in PA are starting to network and mobilize about the Klan coming to Pittsburgh on Apr. 5th. We are also talking of picketing Ed Foster's home before this rally. Stay tuned.

ARA Philly now finally has Email our address is araphila@netaxs.com
So now we can be reached via email, we may also use PGP with some of those who use that also.

Chicago's proposal is fine with us, and the date is good.We look forward to it.

(now we have our own email) If there are network wide things to be done or dealt with reguarding Resistance Records, contact us. Not much with that has been going on here. (In that we have not yet found any shops or distros that are local carrying Resistance)

It was good to see some of y'all in Columbus, we always enjoy getting out of our beloved city.Take care.

ARA PHILLY

Minneapolis ARA Report

by Dan Q. and Gigi

Mpls ARA supported the case of Nathan Myers who was charged (several times, of course) with assaulting fascist scumbag Jeff Schoep. Schoep is a known organizer for the National Socialists who have made the news before for flyering parking lots with white supremacist propaganda. He also recently traveled to Rochester, MN to hook up with and encourage the local losers All-American Boyz to continue their violent, racist rampage against the Somali community. Myers plead not guilty due to self-defense and was acquitted! Fighting racism is not a crime!

On April 5th, we held Bass Culture, a jungle/drum-n-bass party benefit. We got the word about ARA out to a lot of folks, and made some money! Cheers to the Jungle Vibe Collective who organized a lot for the show, Dimension Sound, Uglie Mann, Phull Surkle, and the Headshots crew for performing.

Human Life International (HLI), a right-wing, pro-life, homophobic, racist, anti-Semitic, anti-woman, anti-Muslim (and anti-just about everything else) Catholic organization held their world conference in Bloomington, MN, April 16 through the 20th of April. The Fight the Right Coalition was organized in opposition to this conference, and was composed of members of ARA, Love & Rage, Refuse & Resist, District 202 (a queer youth center), and Macalester College students. On Wednesday, April 16th, we held a same-sex kiss-in on the steps of St. Paul Cathedral, the site of their opening Mass. Coalition members had informed the Jewish religious community in the Twin Cities of their anti-Semitic message, which led to the Archbishop of St. Paul's withdrawing from the mass. (Later, HLI spokespeople accused the Coalition of "manipulating" the Archbishop!) About 200 people came out in protest, and we had a lot of fun chanting at them, and following them on their prayer vigil-march to the Capitol. Unfortunately, 2 ARA members were arrested, and one is currently facing charges of criminal assault. On Saturday, April 19th, after a morning of crazy clinic defense, we held a demonstration at the Radisson Hotel where they were having their conference. At first, the police tried to pen us in to a "free speech zone" but they weren't successful. 250 people were entertained by speakers, songs, and same-sex kissing. We marched around the hotel to the dismay of conference participants. We'd like to thank folks who came from Detroit and Michigan-area ARA chapters, NY Love and Ragers, Fargo-Moorehead ARA, and all the local support.

Kids in Fargo, ND and Moorehead, MN started an ARA chapter recently, and came down to Minneapolis for the HLI events. We held an informal meeting with them to discuss how we can connect and help each other out. Mpls plans to travel to Fargo-Moorehead in mid-June to hold workshops on different stuff that we do in Minneapolis. We also hope that people from F-M ARA will be able to travel to Chicago with us for the Delegate Meeting.

A High Schools committee has formed, so as to have more developed high school presentations. In late April, a few ARA'ers went to Loring-Nicollet, an alternative high school, and spoke to an Activism class.

Our Copwatch program is ongoing, and we're trying a new technique in which a second camera stays across the street or around the corner, in the event that something happens to the primary camera there will still be a video record of what's going on. We're discussing strategies on how to expand our anti-cop work and how to be more effective with Copwatch. Stay tuned for an anti-curfew demo coming soon.

On Mayday every year in Minneapolis, there is a parade honoring the workers' holiday, and celebrating the coming of spring (important here...). Traditionally, Mpls ARA marches in the political part of the parade, and this year we had an anti-cop theme to our contingent. We wore Copwatch t-shirts, passed out anti-cop literature and carried pig piñatas dressed as cops that kids at the parade busted open. Members also marched with Minnesotans for a United Ireland to promote the demonstration against Margaret Thatcher.

Margaret Thatcher, former Prime Minister of England, appeared in Minneapolis at the Convention Center on Friday, May 9th. She appeared at the annual $200-a-plate gala dinner for the Center of the American Experiment, a Minneapolis-based right-wing "think tank". Mpls ARA members worked in coalition with Minnesotans for a United Ireland, Irish Northern Aid, and the Irish-American Unity Conference to protest her appearance. Several members of ARA fasted for 24 hours as a symbolic remembrance of the 10 Irish hunger strikers who died in 1981 as a result of Thatcher's criminalization of the fight to end to English colonial rule in Ireland. About 100 people came to the Convention Center to protest the black-tie affair, attended by 2200+ members of Minneapolis's ruling class. 10 coffins with hunger strikers' names on them were carried out, and biographical details of each was read. A piper played a lament, and some traditional Irish songs were sung. Speakers explained the situation in Ireland in the 1980s and today and how Margaret Thatcher's appearance is an affront to all decent people. We entered the Convention Center and chanted outside the ballroom but were pushed back by the police. Throughout the demonstration, protesters asked people attending Thatcher's speech, "How much did you pay to have dinner with a murderer?"

Mpls ARA has been trying to have political discussions once in a while to figure out our common politics and to re-evaluate the work we do. We had a discussion on the State, its role in our lives, its role in racism, and the reasons we feel part of anti-racist work is to challenge it. In the past we had discussions on "What is Racism?" and the role of the police in racism.

We have heard that Fond du Lac, Wisconsin has an active nazi scene, with Stormfront Records being at the forefront. Right now we are discussing strategies on how to relate to that community and help our connections there build an anti-racist sentiment.

Several of us plan to attend the ARA Delegate's Meeting in Chicago, and we are doing some fundraising to help out other chapters. We should all make a concerted effort to ensure that all chapters are represented. For more info, call Mpls ARA at (612) 649-4586. See you in Chicago!

anti-racist action presents:

BASS CULTURE

UNDERGROUND SOUNDS FROM THE URBAN JUNGLE

PHOTOS/JAMES MILTON

Kiss-In Protest Has Solid Turnout

Approximately 150 people turned out for an Apr. 16 Kiss-In protesting the Human Life International (HLI) conference held in the Twin Cities Apr. 16-19. According to Justine Abinni, who helped to organize the event through Fight the Right, the energy of queer youth, particularly from District 202, made the protest an empowering experience for all who participated. Two people were arrested during the event, and HLI organizers asked Kiss-In participants to disperse, but demonstrators—representing, among others, groups from Macalester College, Anti-Racist Action, Refuse and Resist, and the Progressive Student Organization—were firm, Abinni said, in their desire to make a to-the-point statement to HLI: its anti-gay, pro-life stance will not be tolerated. A second, similarly energized demonstration, with more than 200 in attendance, was held Apr. 19 at the Radisson Hotel in Bloomington where HLI workshops were held.

Star Tribune Photos by Joey McLeister

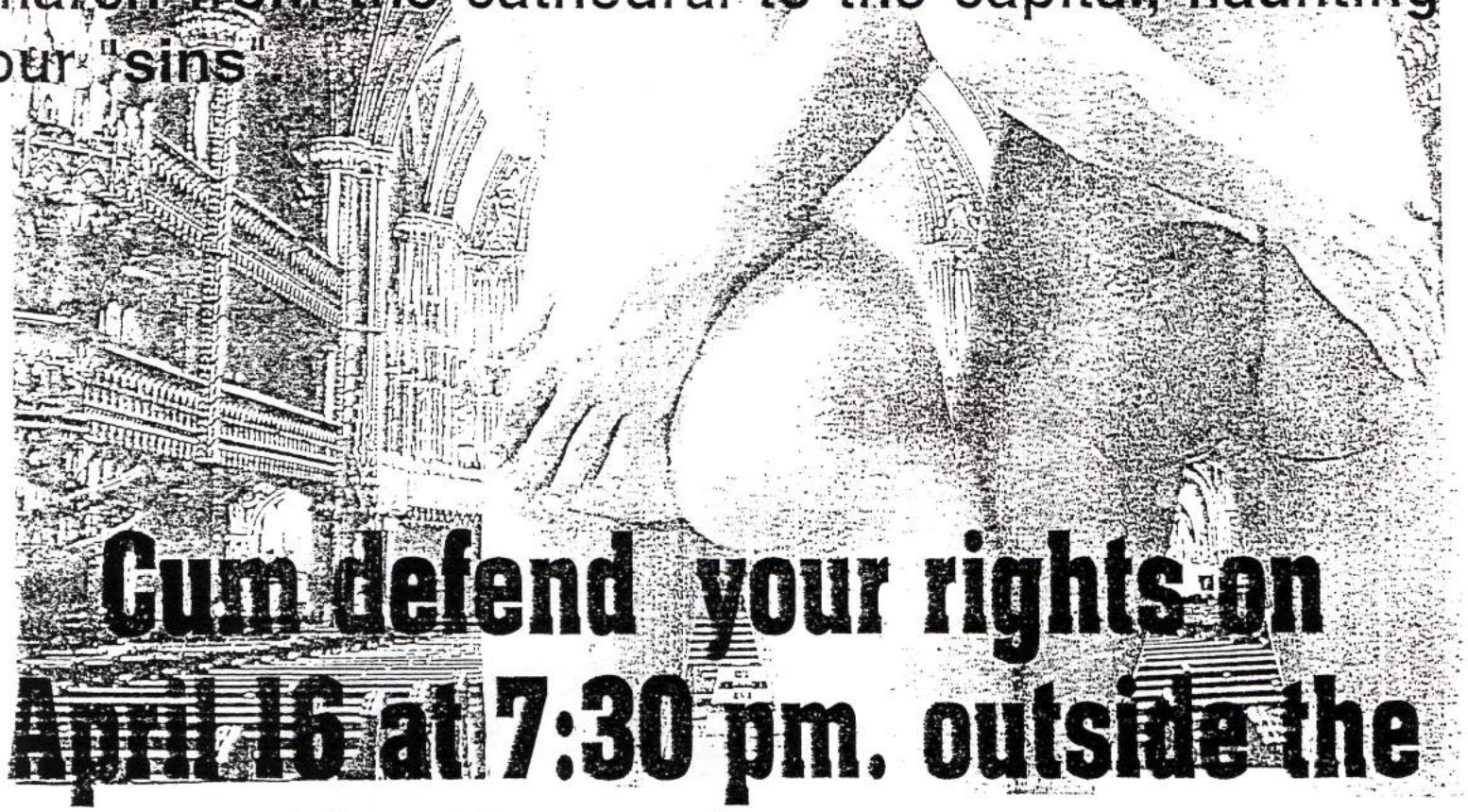
The Rev. Paul Marx carried a candle as he and Rabbi Yehuda Levin, a Human Life International adviser from New York, made their way from the cathedral to the State Capitol after celebrating mass. After the group was condemned by Archbishop Harry Flynn, Marx said, "I feel sorry for the archbishop. He has been totally misinformed by the wrong people; I don't know who. I will pray for him."

Human Life International mass sparks protest

By Nolan Zavoral

KISS IN

Human Life International, a racist, sexist, homophobic organization is holding their world conference, in Bloomington M.N. Their kick off mass will be held at the cathedral, in St. Paul on Wednesday the 16 of April. Show up with your sweetie, or friend for a same sex kiss in. Lets kick their morals in the ass! We can harass their sorry asses as they march from the cathedral to the capital, flaunting our "sins".



Cum defend your rights on April 16 at 7:30 pm. outside the St. Paul Cathedral

We are holding a demo, on Sarturday, April 19 at the Bloomington Radission where they are holding their world conference. Join us i our fight to preserve our rights

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CALL OUR HOTLINE FOR MORE INFO: 649 4586. SPONSORED BY THE FIGHT THE RIGHT COALITION

Unite to expose and oppose HLI

We can't just ignore groups like HLI - we need to stand against them publicly, to let the world know about the hate-filled agenda their leaders are promoting and to let them and their followers know that society will not tolerate hatred and bigotry. It's easy for all of us to get wrapped up in issues that personally affect us - but groups like HLI show that the radical right's agenda targets many people. We must be unified in our common goal of stopping all bigotry and discrimination. **HLI opposes equality based on gender, race, and sexual orientation. We must stand together for a world without prejudice.**

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Why is the Church supporting such bigotry?

Thankfully, local Archbishop Flynn, under public pressure, withdrew his offer to speak at HLI's opening mass. But the church is still sanctioning the group's politics by allowing them to use the Saint Paul Cathedral. And church leaders, including Pope John Paul II, are often quoted as praising Marx and HLI. Progressive Catholics (condemned as "truly evil" by Marx) and all of us should demand that the church denounce HLI and its bigoted views.

Rally & Demo Against HLI Conference

Saturday, April 19, 3:30 pm

At the Radisson Hotel, Bloomington

NW corner of Hwy 494 and 100

(Site of HLI Conference)

Speakers from various community groups will speak out against HLI

For more info, phone 649-4586

Join us Saturday afternoon. Let's send a message that bigotry is not welcome in our community or any community!

Unite Against

the racist, sexist, homophobic agenda of Human Life International.

Why we oppose HLI

HLI leaders try to dismiss charges of racism, sexism, & homophobia with claims of being "misquoted" and "taken out of context." But their own books (sold at this conference) prove otherwise.

The racism of HLI's founder

Paul Marx, the founder and driving force behind Human Life International, has made numerous racist statements in interviews, speeches, and in his own books (sold by HLI.) Marx has said he fears "the western world is committing suicide...I guess we have 250,000 Vietnamese here already, and they are going to have large families; the Orientals always do. God knows how many Mexicans cross the border every night. And if we ever have to fight the Russians, I wonder if these people will be willing to stake their lives." Marx has often said similar things about Jewish and Moslem people. His racism knows few bounds.

Marx's anti-Semitism

Marx has repeatedly made anti-Semitic statements....

"I do say and I will say because it is the truth that it is a strange thing how many leaders in the abortion movement are Jewish..." - 1977

In his auto-biography, Marx urged readers to "note the large number of abortionists (consult the yellow pages) who are Jewish..."

HLI's racist overtones and leaders

In 1990, Marx, arguing against "one vote per person" in South Africa, wrote that "it is difficult to get tribal peoples one step away from the bush and huts and manage a modern economy and rule themselves peacefully and democratically."

Defending apartheid in South Africa, HLI's "German Advisor", Siegfried Ernst wrote, "Why is there this attitude of degenerated masochism which makes us destroy systematically our own breed and race...?" In a court ruling against Ernst, a German judge wrote "the things he [Ernst] says are so racially discriminating that any impartial observer can see parallels to the Third Reich."

HLI opposes equality for women

Randall Terry, founder of the violent anti-abortion group Operation Rescue, has spoken at past HLI annual conferences. At the 1994 conference, Terry urged participants to make America "a Christian nation under Biblical law", and to make "dads Godly leaders of the family...with women in submission, raising kids for the glory of God."

HLI's radical homophobia

HLI supporter and speaker Stanley Monteith alleges that gays are part of a radical conspiracy who want AIDS to "spread and weaken America so they can rule the world." One HLI favorite, Judith Reisman, urges a boycott against condoms, alleging that "Homosexual males... [are] promoting condoms as a means of desensitizing youth to promiscuous sex and gay sodomies." And Marx recommends Paul Cameron as an authority on sexual orientation. Cameron was booted out of the American Psychological Association for "consistently misrepresenting research."

the common enemy.

There is something wrong with any system where basic rights are given to some and denied to others. This is where a community starts to split and in doing so becomes weaker. ARA believes in building unity between all oppressed people from block to block. This is the strength it's gonna take to crush white supremacy.

Since A.R.A.'s incarnation in the late 80's there has been work against oppression in the Twin Cities. Progress has been made, it is safe to say the Minneapolis youth scene is nazi free. A.R.A.'s work to confront sexism, racism, and homophobia has taken many forms.

WHAT WE'VE DONE AND WHAT WE'LL DO

• Mpls ARA women presented a "confronting sexism in the anti-racist scene" workshop at our annual network conference. It was a hard and emotional workshop for many of the participants, but has had a definite effect on people in our local.

•The creation of the A.R.A. Network, a North American anti-racist organization.

•A.R.A. in coalition with other local groups staged a kiss-in at the site of a recent queer bashing. It was in front of the perpetrators house. They were confronted and publicly humiliated.

•We discovered, through an internal police bulletin, that A.R.A.'s Copwatch was named in the top ten organizations hated by the Mpls pigs.

•A.R.A. organized to shut down a nazi show in St. Paul. First we shut down the nazi's meeting point, by having a baseball/picnic which was over a hundred strong. Then the concert, which featured Bound For Glory and other nazi bands from Europe was stopped before it had a chance to happen.

•A.R.A. has held annual Kristallnacht demonstration for the last five years, with the last two being free of the presence of nazi boneheads.

•A.R.A has participated in pro-choice coalitions organizing to take on the christians rights anti-choice and homophobic agenda.

•A.R.A. mobilizes to challenge klan gatherings throughout the midwest.

•We organize to support anti-racists who defend themselves against Nazis.

•We are currently involved in making ties with anti-racist youth in Rochester, MN in light of the recent attacks on the Somali comunity by the racist "All American Boys."

Get involved, contact us at:
Minneapolis ARA, POB 80239,Mpls, MN 55408.
Hotline: 612-649-4586

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the government and its internal army of cops . Where you live how much money you make, access to banks and our interactions with the police, as well most aspects of your life, are largely based on race. Basically, white people in this country are born with an advantage. This concept is often called white privilege. White people are given privileges in return for their loyalty to the system , i.e. divide and conquer. Because of this A.R.A. does not believe that "reverse racism" can exist. We believe it's everyone's responsibility especially those who benefit from it, to fight systemic and personal racism. Right now Mpls. ARA is splitting its energy between two of the most racist forces, organized nazis and the cops.

NO ROOM FOR NAZIS

A.R.A. challenges hardcore racists in two ways, through education/outreach as well as using on the street confrontation. We believe white supremacists can be both out-argued an out organized. Some folks may claim these are fringe elements, not worthy of our time and energy. The recent surge of arson attacks against Black churches (including one on the East side of St.Paul), the bombing of clinics, by the quickly growing christian right, and the involvement of white supremacists in the military and police force tells us otherwise. Add to this the violent racial attacks against Somalis by whites in Rochester, MN. and we don't have to look far to see what's up. Check it out!

Mpls.A.R.A. uses education to combat and debunk the myths, lies, and stereotypes that organized racists use to recruit with. We also put out a positive anti-racist and multiracial message of understanding and solidarity, which can relate to all people. We've held open public forums on the politics of Malcolm X and the Black Panthers, as well as discussing anti-fascist activities throughout the world. For many years A.R.A. has successfully held an anti-fascist march and rally commemorating Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass), a night which symbolizes the rise of Nazi terror in Europe. We say never again!

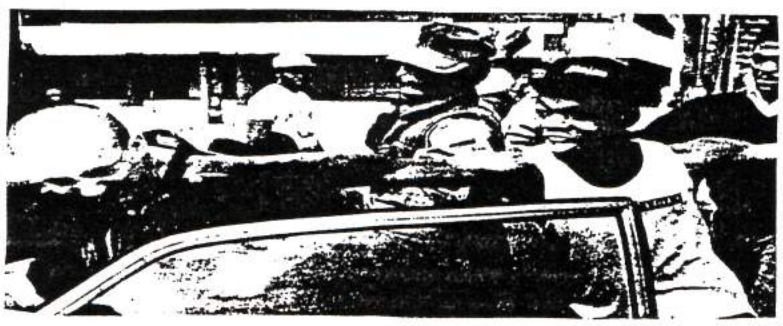
Any talk which advocates intolerance, violence and hate can not be allowed to fester. For this reason A.R.A. challenges the nazi's ability to organize. This happens in a few different ways.

First, we collect information on nazis both locally and regionally. Second, we challenge their attempts to recruit youths, whether at schools, malls, or concerts. We go where they go. Third, A.R.A. maintains a constant street presence especially declaring areas of public space "Nazi Free Zone". Lastly we'll always attempt to shut down any concerts, rallies, or events that are white supremacist in nature. Free speech does not exist when it infringes on another human's freedom due to their religion, color of their skin, sexuality, or gender. Women as well as men play a strong role in on the street confrontation within A.R.A. All we are saying...is shut'em down!

To this end the A.R.A. Network has begun a campaign to stop a neo-nazi record label/ magazine/ distribution service called Resistance Records which is based in Detroit. A.R.A.'s in Canada and the U.S. are working hard to expose and weaken Resistance through education and confrontation of music stores that sell this shit. We know we will win!

CRIMINALS IN BLUE WE SEE YOU

A.R.A. recognizes police as one of the most obvious, most brutal and oppressive groups of "organized racist" in existence. Most oppressed people in America, primarily people of color, but also youth, the poor and working class, women, and queers fear the police. Harassment and brutality are a constant threat. Police go virtually unchallenged, the official channels



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THE 411 ON MPLS ARA

page 1

We know this country is jacked. ARA believes that fighting racism means busting down the powers that create it, which are the same powers that fuck over women, gays, lesbians, transgender people and bisexuals. Racism still exists in every city, women are still often treated with no respect. Most people have to work long hours for shit pay. Cops harass youth and people of color on a daily basis, and gay bashing is always a threat to queer folx. The so called justice system is not helping these problems, in fact it is part of the problem. Anti-racist Action is for people who want to fight these forms of oppression. There are over thirty ARA's in cities throughout the U.S. and Canada, united by the Anti-Racist Action Network, which helps share information and coordinate actions across North America. ARA was originally founded a decade ago by anti-racist youth in Toronto and Minneapolis and is still majority youth today. We have no elected leaders, everyone has voice. We meet to decide on actions that have to do with problems in our communities. Our goal is to help build strong community ties, in order to get shit done.

RACISM IS EVERYWHERE... BUT WHAT IS IT?

After many years of discussion and study A.R.A. has agreed to a specific definition of racism, as it occurs in America. This being that Racism= Racial Prejudice + Power. This country was founded on the genocide of Native peoples and the enslavement of Africans. Racism has been entrenched in most areas of mainstream society and has been perpetrated by

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set up to reprimand them are basically for show. Cops who repeatedly beat down, rape, and murder are given, at most, a slap on the wrist, but usually more like a pat on the back. Cuz see it's not a few bad ones stepping outside there bounds, they are all just doing there jobs correctly, keeping the people down and dividing. Their job is to make people live in fear. They are an occupying army terrorizing everyone who is a threat to this fucked up system.

Its up to people to stand up to cops cuz no one is gonna do it for us. To combat this A.R.A. has a program called Copwatch, where we go out every other weekend and watch the police. We talk to people, pass out flyers and question police procedure. When we see cops harassing, searching, or detaining, someone we step to them armed with a video camera and knowledge of the law. We make the cops deal with us. We hold the police accountable to people in the streets. Copwatch can't be everywhere all the time. We are trying to build up the already existing anti-cop culture. We need to stick up for folx, and standing up to police all the time. Although organized copwatches are relatively new, the idea behind them is widespread and common. When you see cops fucking with someone no matter what "crime" they committed it's a safe bet the cops are in the wrong. We need to have each others backs when the cops fuck with us. We need to take the power back! Until cops fear us this shit is gonna continue. So next time cops try to pull some shit in your presence let them know you are watching. Make them accountable to you and your community.

GIRLS KICK ASS! QUEERS FIGHT BACK!

Racism , sexism, and homophobia are all interconnected and therefore dependent on each other. White supremacy is based on oppression of all who aren't white, straight men. There is no real justice where any group of people are denied freedom.

Women and queers face a lot of shit from this society. Women earn less money than men for the same jobs, queers are attacked and beaten. The courts system is restricting queer rights to marriage and home owning, and continually denying justice to women in cases of rape, domestic abuse, and child custody.

Women grabbing power that is theirs is a threat to how this country works. In order to keep white power, and the christian right together, they need to keep those who run it, men, in important positions. Women being able run families without the help of men is a threat to patriarchy. When women take control of their own bodies, that's one less way of keeping them down. Legislation and laws should not dictate how women deal with their pregnancies. Rape is another tool to control women. Rape takes away the most personal knowledge of self. This crime is far too widespread and common to be written off as the problem of a few crazy men. Rape is oppression and needs to be fought with the same strength as all other forms.

Queers directly challenge the idea of the perfect family that white supremacy wants all people to fit. The legal fight against queer rights is setting up some fucked up laws. A judge should not be able to tell you who you can marry, whether or not you can have kids, or where you can live- this shit should make you mad cuz a judge shouldn't be able to tell that to anybody. Who a person decides to love shouldn't have anything to do with their human rights.

These problems are pretty much ignored by every culture in amerika. Sexism and homophobia are problems in every community. This is exactly what white supremacy wants to happen. It is a divide and conquer tactic to keep us fighting among ourselves instead of against

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Montreal AAR/ARA Report

Hello all!

Well, I thought that smell in the air was just a winter's worth of frozen dogshit de-thawing. Turns out it's the return of boneheads to Montreal, after a year of exile.

In the early hours of 5/10/97 a group of boneheads attacked a woman on St. Denis for the crime of wearing a SHARP patch. Then, that same evening, someone covered the cornerstore of Ibou Diouf with posters featuring a young white couple along with the slogan "Keep Canada white and livable bright." Ah, how I love the superiority of proud aryan grammar! Anyways, we talked to Ibou, who's had this happen to him 3 times before! He's (hopefully) coming out to our meeting on Sunday and guess what! A bar known as a favourite watering hole for Metro's racists is right around the corner from his store! Our plans are to COVER the neighbourhood in racist-free zone posters and help start an informal neighbourhood watch kind-of thing with the many, many sympathetic residents of this neighbourhood.

Then just today we learn that a supposed natural healing convention in a local hotel has been organised by a group whose leader is associated with the Nouvel Ordre Europeen, a French racist group (anyone have dirt on these dirtbags?). Jacques Bauge-Prevost has also written in books apologizing for the inequality of races and talks about protecting the "aryan race".

Unfortunately the CJC neglected to inform us until the day before it's happening so there's not a lot we can do about it, but we are planning to work with them the next time this happens and shut it down! Yes, yes, we know not too get too cozy with the CJC, thanks for your concern.

ON top of all this, there's been bonehead sightings and reports of boneheads harrassing people of colour @ 2 metro stops, so we're going to target them, too.

The good news is the cop's latest public relations scheme is backfiring badly! There was a big riot here last June when police decided that they needed to clear a popular downtown park of young & poor people by beating & arresting them! Well, this po-po decided to start the season off by hosting a week of "special events" in the park. Monday feature the police jazz band at lunch (i'm not kidding!). Tuesday's planned "cops vs. punks" volleyball game had to be cancelled due to the inability of the cops to come up with 5 punks willing to talk to them, let alone play volleyball with them (now, if they had picked a full-contact game like hockey...). All week long are pals @ COPB (Committee Opposed To Police Brutality) have been stealing the 5-0's thunder with zany street theatre, like their "How To Commit Police Brutality" demonstrations and handing out flyers warning citizens of a well-armed, extremely dangerous new gang in town wearing blue and carrying badges. Guess who's getting better press? That's right! COPB 1 - COPS 0!

As usual, any advice or words of encouragement from y'all would be greatly appreciated.

Love,
Todd

Action Anti-Raciste/Anti-Racist Action Montreal
#8, 414 Mont Royal Est
Montreal, Quebec, Canada
H2J 1W1
ph: (514) 851-1880
e-mail: aramontreal@hotmail.com

Scene Report from ARA Toronto

Since the New Year, we've been busy on a bunch of issues... strangely for us, our anti-Nazi work has been taking a back seat for a few months, as we get more involved in other community struggles.

January 10th started the year off right with a fundraising ska and oi! show that brought traditional ska bands together with the Lager Lads from Windsor. It was an incedible concert...

We helped to plan a demonstration against racist police violence on February 1st with a number of community groups, and backing from the Canadian Union of Public Employees, which was holding an anti-racist national conference in Toronto that weekend. The network that came together for that demo has survived and is holding ongoing meetings to support other initiatives taken by victims of police abuse. There have been two more shootings (!) since then of people of colour and the Coalition has organized demonstrations, public meetings, & press conferences in response.

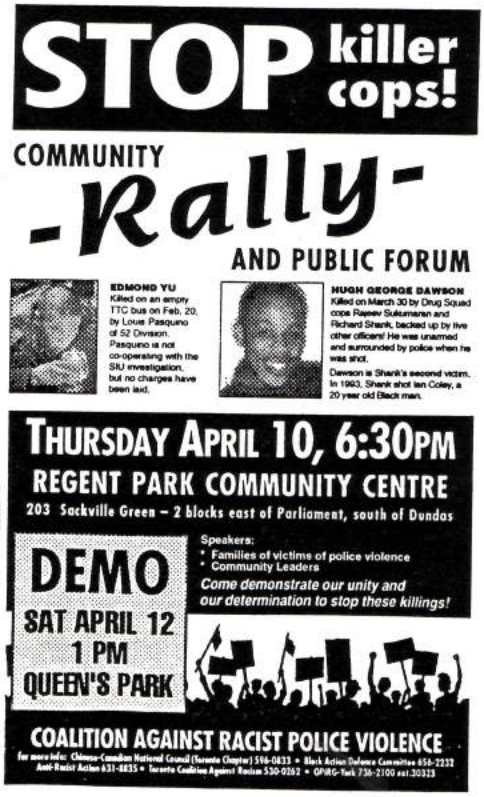
We have also been doing solidarity work for the Stoney Point people, who recently reclaimed their traditional, treaty lands which had been used as a military base since WWII. Several of them are facing charges in connection with the unarmed occupation of their land that they undertook in 1993. The military left their lands in the summer of 1995, but in a related incident, Dudley George, a Stoney Pointer, was shot and killed by Ontario Provincial Police on September 6, 1995.

In late February, ARA people travelled to London, Ontario in support of a representative of the Stoney Pointers who was speaking there. On March 11, a whole crew of us packed into a minivan and drove four hours to Sarnia, to observe the trial of a Stoney Pointer, and on April 1st we travelled up for the opening day of the Ontario Provincial Police officer, Kenneth Deane, who shot Dudley George. (Both days we met supporters of ARA Sarnia and Detroit ARA too at the Sarnia Courthouse.)

On March 14 we held a benefit concert for the Stoney Point legal fund which raised some cash and awareness for their struggle. With Native and non-Native performers, it was a great night to make connections, despite a real motherfucker of a snowstorm.

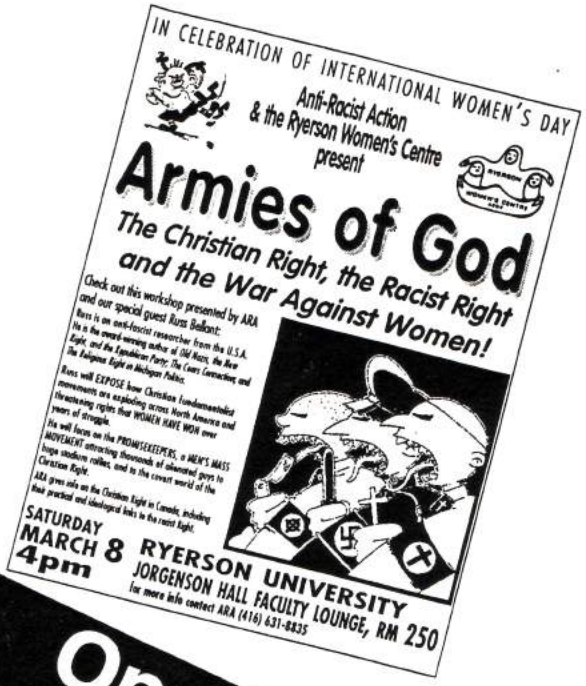
On top of the heavy police repression, the Stoney Pointers are also dealing with an anti-native organization which has formed in their area, called ON FIRE (Ontario Federation for Individual Rights and Equality). ON FIRE formed to put pressure on the State for stronger measures against Native self-determination. We will be publishing a pamphlet about them soon.

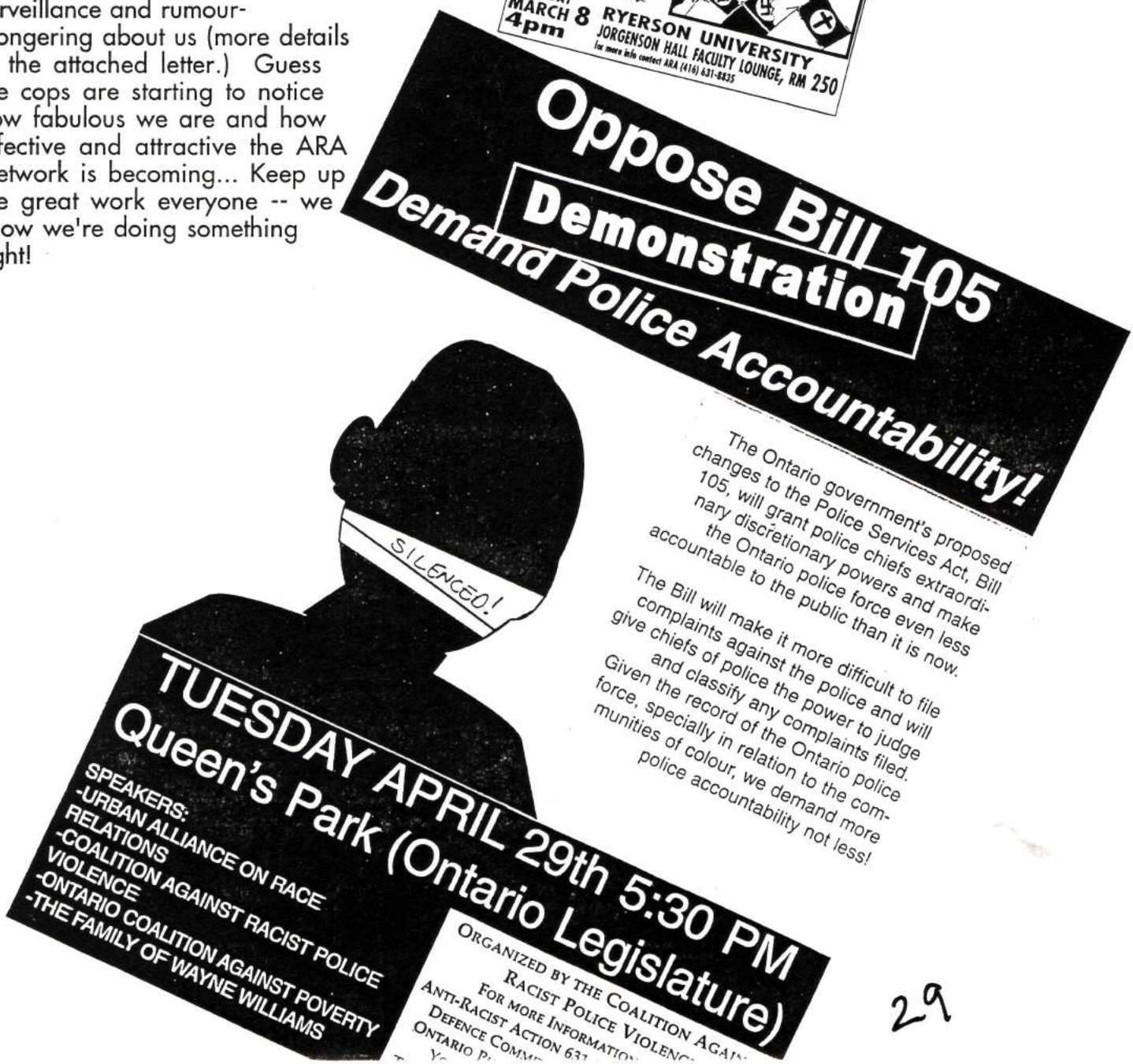
For International Women's Week, we did a presentation about the fringe-right, particularly anti-Native, anti-feminist and anti-queer groupings, at the University of Waterloo. In Toronto, we hosted a presentation with Russ Bellant about the Christian Right, particularly activities in Canada (see attached hand-out about Christian right organizations active in Canada.)



Meanwhile, we've been producing a regular radio news show, updating the people of Toronto on local nazi news. And last but not least, we have been helping the new ARA groups in Sarnia, London and Kitchener/Waterloo to get active. It's been fun ---

As far as the nazis go, they have been busy trying to slander us and cut us off from the mainstream support which we got during our "Youth Against Hate" conference last June. Oh well! There has also been an increased level of police surveillance and rumour-mongering about us (more details in the attached letter.) Guess the cops are starting to notice how fabulous we are and how effective and attractive the ARA Network is becoming... Keep up the great work everyone -- we know we're doing something right!





Armies of God

The Christian Right, the Racist Right, and the War Against Women

presented by Anti-Racist Action
co-sponsored by the Ryerson Women's Centre
International Women's Day, March 8, 1997

Definitions, adapted from Spiritual Warfare: the Politics of the Christian Right by Sara Diamond (South End Press, Boston:1989).

Evangelical: Broadly, the term describes Christians who actively seek to convert others.

Fundamentalism: A literal interpretation of the Bible, applied to all parts of life. Fundamentalists are usually very concerned with other people's "morality".

Dominion theology: (Or "kingdom theology") The term is used informally by politically-minded born-again Christians to describe their goal of Christianizing political and social institutions (like the military, education, law, media, business, entertainment).

Reconstructionism: A specific type of "Dominion Theology". Reconstructionists want a society run according to Old Testament codes like: capital punishment for homosexuality, abortion, adultery; destruction of the government social welfare system; a ban on long-term debt; a return to a gold standard economy; the abolition of income tax.

Shepherding: An organizational structure used in many groups, both Protestant and Catholic, where members are required to submit to spiritual leaders in all areas of their lives. Very hierarchical.

Pentecostal: Describes the U.S.-based denominations, started around the turn of the century, that focus on the "gifts of the spirit" (like supernatural healing, predicting the future, and speaking unknown "tongues") mentioned in the book of Acts and in I Corinthians 12-14 in the New Testament. In contrast, most fundamentalists believe these "gifts" only applied in New Testament times, not in modern times.

Christian Identity: Also called the "Church of Jesus Christ, Christian" (as in "Jesus was a Christian, not a Jew".) An openly white supremacist form of Christian theology, holding that white Christians are the "real" chosen people, that Jews are "imposters" and agents of Satan, and that people of colour are "mud people". The main political outgrowth of the Identity "Church" is the Aryan Nations, based in Hayden Lake, Idaho. The spiritual basis for the fastest-growing segment of the fascist movement in North America.

This presentation is not intended to imply that all people involved in Christian evangelical movements agree with all positions taken by the Christian Right leaders. However, organizationally Christian Right movements are playing important roles in the worldwide war against feminism, sexual freedom, and Third World/indigenous liberation struggles.

Anti-Racist Action (Toronto) • P.O. Box 291, Station B, Toronto, M5T 2T2 • (416) 631-8835 • ara@web.net

Some Christian Right Groups Active in Canada

Campus Crusade for Christ

- Founded by Bill Bright, former fancy foods salesman, in 1951.
- Campus Crusade has 11 university chapters in Canada. Last summer in Guelph they sponsored a debate about the existence of God. Projects include: Christian Business and Professional Association ("committed to sharing Christ in the marketplace"); Canadian Prayer Alert, Christian Embassy, Mothers Who Care (focus on education).
- The Crusade also does a lot of outreach among military personnel. Oliver North is one of their more famous members. Strong interest in foreign policy, supporting anti-communists governments & military movements.
- Michael Horner is one writer & speaker in Canada. Other main leaders?

Youth with a Mission (YWAM) -- members are called "Why-Whammers" --

- Non-demoninational, focused on international missionary activity, founded in 1960. U.S. head Loren Cunningham.
- Sara Diamond describes: "YWAM sees its role as an on-the-ground combat force against liberation theology".
- In 1996, 586 bases in 132 countries, 9,500 full-time unsalaried staff, 20,000 other volunteers, owned 4 ships travelling to Third World ports.
- Contacts in Kelowna, Victoria and Winfield B.C. (may be others).
- First YWAM missionary training school may be open in Canada near Edmonton (Joe and Cathy Marchand were looking for likely real estate in summer 1996). Their stated goal, to provide "family enhancement" and marriage counselling/preservation programs through local churches.
- Another Canadian YWAMer, George Watson, used to be involved in missionary work among the Salish people on Vancouver Island (and lobbying to have traditional ceremonies outlawed as "witchcraft"). Then became a prominent anti-choice activist in Vancouver. Warned B.C. government that if abortion is not outlawed, "the mob will surely lynch" abortion providers.

Focus on the Family

- Main guy -- James Dobson. Dobson has been appointed to several government Advisory Boards, Committees, etc. in Washington D.C. on Family Values-type topics.
- Big publishers of anti-choice pamphlets, video and audiotapes. Major radio broadcaster. Financially controls community radio station in Kitchener/Waterloo.
- Publishes monthly magazine, "The Citizen".
- Runs **"Community Impact Seminars"** to build political lobby groups. For example, a Seminar in Edmonton was called "A Case for Christian Activism in Canada: Class Action Focus on Education", presented by Mark Milliron
- Main leaders in Canada?
- Focus on the Family is very media-shy; they don't like the spotlight. Very sophisticated.

Promisekeepers

- Founded in 1990 by university football coach Bill McCartney. Based in Boulder, Colorado.
- Backed by the big players in the Christian Right.
- Beliefs summarized in book "Seven Promises of Promisekeeper", published by Focus on the Family. Key issues are men's power within their families, blurring lines between different Christian denominations, "racial reconciliation".
- A mass-based movement, holds huge stadium rallies (men only!) to build emotion. Follow-up is in small "accountability groups" led by "Point Men" who report to "Ambassadors" who report to Boulder.
- First rally held in Bolder in 1991. In 1995, 720,000 men attended PK rallies. 40,000 clergy and lay preachers at the March 1996 "Fan into Flame" convention held in Atlanta, Georgia. As of April 1996, $65 million annual budget.
- Canadian PK activites:
  - first rally in Vancouver in 1994
  - office opened in Langley, B.C. in 1995
  - first Toronto rally in September 1995 at Queensway Cathedral (Etobicoke?)
  - January-Feb 1996 issue of "Canadian Evangelical" was devoted to PK.
  - March 1996 "Fan into Flame" Convention attracted 832 Canadian clergy and lay preachers
  - first Quebec rally in April 1996
  - September 1996, PK Canada convention in Red Deer, Alberta, attracted 6000 men, including 300-400 pastors.
  - plans for October 1996 rally at Copps Coliseum in Hamilton (did it happen?)
- Bill Rutherford is Canadian president.

Christian Coalition

- Founded in 1990 (?) in US. Ralph Reed -- Executive Director; Pat Robertson -- President.
- Canadian organization founded after Canadian delegates went to Washington D.C. convention in Sept. 1995. A strategy meeting was held in Toronto including members of the Ontario Political Action Committee and the Canadian Communication Coalition, but official founding meeting held in B.C. in Jan. 96.
- Canadian organization led by Jim Garrow of Guelph. National Advisor Board includes:
  Jason Kenny, head of Canadian Taxpayers Association
  Ted & Link Byfield, owners of Alberta Report and B.C. Report
  Ken Campbell, homphobic head of "Renaissance Canada"
  Alex Parachin, head of Canadian Broadcasting Associates (based in Toronto, this is the Canadian branch of Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network)
- B.C. branch founded by Bill Vander Zalm and Don Spratt, anti-choice activist with Operation Rescue.
- Key issues (according to their own media reps): abortion; "special rights" for gay/lesbian/transgendered people, "the feminist view of the family"; euthanasia

Human Life International (HLI)

- Catholic anti-choice organization founded in 1981 by Father Paul Marx, with the Pope's approval. Active globally, claims responsibility for anti-choice legislation in several countries.
- Alleges Jewish control of "abortion industry", compares abortion to the Holocaust. HLI's anti-semitism has been condemned by B'Nai Brith Canada. Equates abortion with the end of (European) Christian civilization.
- Canadian director Theresa Bell. Based in Ottawa; other chapters in Calgary, Winnipeg, and Antigonish, Nova Scotia.
- John Salvi, murderer of abortion providers in Boston area, distributed HLI literature.
- April 1995 conference in Montreal attracted 1000s of demonstrators. A Nov. 95 convention in Calgary similarly brought a large protest, mainly organized by queer community.

Campaign Life Coalition

- Mainstream anti-choice organization in Canada, based in Toronto at 53 Dundas St. East.
- Publishes "The Interim", monthly magazine covering Christian Rights news and opinions, focusing on abortion issues.
- Operation Rescue clinic blockades run out of CLC office in 1988-89.
- Funded Jean-Guy Tremblay's 1989 legal fight against ex-lover Chantal Daigle.

REAL Women Canada

- Anti-feminist, anti-abortion far-right organization of women and men, with some mainstream credibility.
- As of 1995, Rita Ann Kelly Hartmann was Director and National Secretary. Widow of Klansman Paul Hartmann, she helped found the pro-apartheid Northern Foundation. The 1989 founding conference attracted all the future leadership of the Heritage Front. Rita's son, Eric "Stilts" Hartmann, wrote an anti-abortion column in the May 1992 issue of the Heritage Front magazine "Upfront" (the same month as the Morgentaler clinic bombing).
- Then-president of REAL Women B.C., Peggy Steacy, spoke at a 1989 panel organized by the fascist LaRouche organization. Another former B.C. president, Ann Molloy, wrote a column for "The Interim" protesting Holocaust-denier David Irving's deporation from Canada in October 1992.

Christian Freedom Party (formerly Social Credit Party of Canada)

- based in Milton, Ontario
- Rev. Ken Campbell, President & National Director
- sponsored "Metro's Moderate Majority" and "Renaissance Canada" and "Metro Renaissance", "Citizens United for Responsible Education" (CURE).

Citizens United for Responsible Education

- The Toronto group was founded July 6, 1992. Very active in 1992 and 1993 in Toronto, against queer-positive curriculum. Tried to elect several members to Board of Trustees; failed. Still exists?
- CURE's founder -- Sue Careless, anti-choice activist, writer for "The Interim". Also prominent was Diane Mallott.
- CURE's "Board of Reference" included several clergy from Pentecostal & other churches, a National VP of REAL Women, Alex Parachin of Christian Broadcasting Associates.
- Nazis calling themselves the "Canadian Shield" attended Ottawa CURE's founding public meeting in April 1992; police were called to prevent fighting from breaking out in the audience!

Warning: There may be some mistakes in this summary. Our research is only beginning! Contact ARA for sources.
P.O. Box 291, Station B, Toronto, M5T 2T2 • (416) 631-8835 • ara@web.net

April 23, 1997

Friends, family, and fellow shit-disturbers!

An earlier version of this letter was posted by email to many ARA Network people.

We are writing to inform and warn our friends and allies about increasing attempts by Canadian Police to criminalize and marginalize Toronto ARA, and ARA groups more generally. Please be aware that police are spreading rumours about us here in Toronto and in other Ontario cities. If you have any questions about us, we ask that you contact us directly!

Some history of ARA Toronto, to put things in perspective:

ARA Toronto started in September 1992, to stop a local fascist organization, the Heritage Front, from holding public rallies and marches and recruiting in high schools.

Within a year, we had contributed to effectively shutting down the Heritage Front as an open organization. We accomplished this mainly by holding militant demonstrations – militant in the sense that we were committed to physically interfering with their activities. Rather than demonstrating across the street or across town, we tried to get in the way of the Nazis, to get in their face. A few rocks and punches were thrown on a couple of occasions, and at one demonstration outside a Nazi's house and Front meeting place, some windows were broken. We took a number of arrests, but because of strong legal support and a common strategy, most everyone got acquitted.

All and all, the tactics used during these demonstrations weren't much more extreme than your average picket line, and far less extreme than what the nazis were doing at the time – beating people severely, setting fire to homes.

Since then, the Nazis have been more or less prevented from doing public activities in the city. Many people left ARA to do other kinds of work, and those of us who remained tried to develop new strategies to prevent the bones from re-emerging. We made popular education a priority, printing thousands of flyers, leaflets and newsletters. We produced new merchandise, set up a web-site, made stickers. We fucked up another attempt at a concert for Hitler's Birthday 1994, and for HB 1995 we announced a rally and demonstration ourselves to pre-empt them so they couldn't do anything that weekend at all! We also started a boycott campaign against two stores in town owned by Nazis and used to distribute nazi merchandise; one of them was sold soon after and the other is a rundown trash heap now.

All this time, we were noticing that while fascist activity seemed to be dropping locally, the fash were more active in the suburbs, towns and cities around Toronto. In 1996 we decided to hold a big conference to bring anti-racists from our region together.

Although it wasn't our primary goal, the conference also had the effect of bringing us together with the institutional anti-racists, like B'nai Brith, the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, the Toronto Mayor's Committee on Race Relations. We also applied for and got $16,000 (about $12,000 U.S.) to do the conference from a quasi-government foundation and the city government.

This history should demonstrate that we are a community organization with support from various sectors of society, and that we have a strategy and a willingness to use various tactics, in our struggle against fascist movements.

Well, ever since the conference, the cops and the nazis have been falling over themselves to try to discredit us, to take away the political space that we carved out for ourselves within the broader anti-racist movement. By criminalizing us, they can also discredit those "mainstream anti-racists" who stand in solidarity with us, and are in some ways more vulnerable to withdrawl of political support – not to mention funding cuts!

Police in different cities have spread rumours about individuals involved with ARA Toronto, have tried to intimidate young people from getting involved with local ARA groups, and have even visited kids' parents to get their support in this political repression of youth. It is clear that either the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) or Canadian Security & Intelligence Service (CSIS) are sharing information about us with local police departments.

Cops and nazis together have lobbied school boards and principals to ban ARA from school property, leading to harassment of kids for even wearing ARA buttons and t-shirts. Some kids in smaller cities outside Toronto have been threatened with expulsion unless they cease their anti-racist activism. Most of the students are standing strong and aren't being intimidated – but the lack of support makes them more vulnerable to attack by racists and homophobes.

Locally, an all-day picket we organized in October last year against Ernst Zundel drew incredible numbers of police, from every branch you could think of. All to watch us picket outside the bunker of one of the leading Nazi propagandists in the world today!

Meanwhile, police have been investigating the case of four pipe bombs that were sent to fascists and others in the summer of 1995. They have no evidence linking Toronto ARA people to these attacks but have used the investigation as an excuse to try to intimidate us. Last fall, a CSIS agent, "Angela Johnson", apparently told a Nazi in Kitchener/Waterloo that "ARA" was responsible for these attacks. The fascists have gone to town with this one, using the "information" to criminalize us and discredit our more respectable allies. We have secured good legal support and will be challenging this claim.

Apparently in connection with this investigation, some people working with ARA in Toronto have been visited at their homes by RCMP and CSIS agents, while some anti-fascists on the Canadian west coast are finding themselves under intense scutiny. There have been no charges laid against anyone.

Our message to the secret police is: if you have evidence about any of this, then lay the charges. If you don't, then stop making these false accusations!

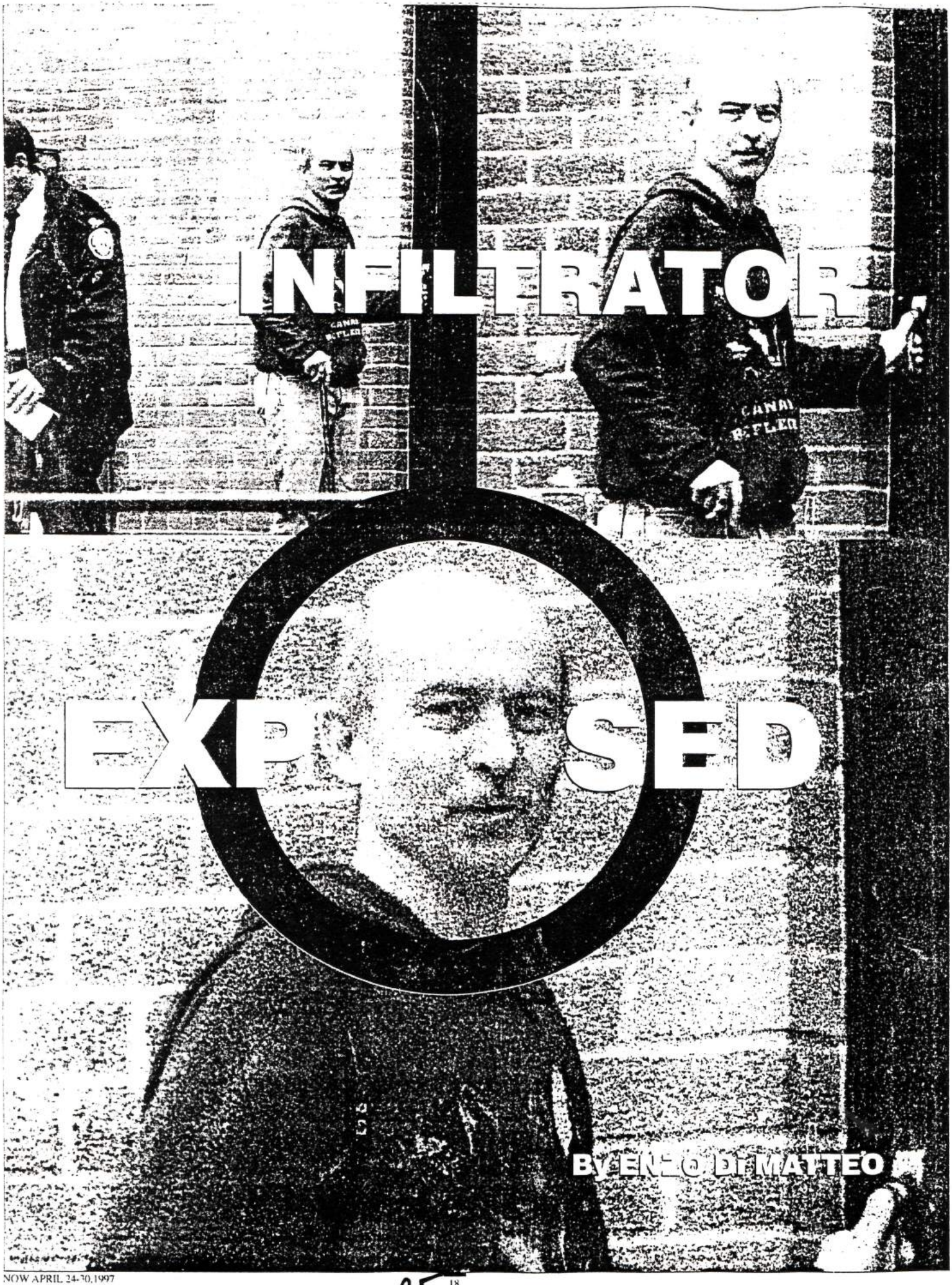
Here in ARA, we are continuing our work and our organization is growing faster than ever. During this time of heightened police attention (which began about six months ago), we have organized three concerts, one all-day picket, several trips out of town to support new ARA groups, and two trips to Sarnia to support the Stoney Point people during trials there. We are working with many community organizations here in town to build a new coalition against racist police violence, and helped plan three demonstrations with that coalition. We have been invited to speak on college campuses, at high schools, and even to participate in events planned by the Metro Toronto government.

We are resisting these attempts to cut us off from the community support which we have earned over the years. In that spirit, we decided to inform our friends and allies about these latest tactics to marginalize us and discredit our allies. We ask especially that if you hear rumours about us that concern you, that you contact us directly with any questions.

In solidarity,

Toronto ARA

Since September 1992, still fighting to make Toronto a nazi-free zone!


INFILTRATOR
EXPOSED
BY ENZO DI MATTEO

"NOW" - TORONTO APRIL 24TH

George Barkhouse, mole for the far right, is none too pleased to see me on his doorstep. "I told you I don't have any more to say to you," he says, his voice slightly shaky.

The former short-order cook doesn't like to be too visible: He prefers to stay in the shadows, to be just a voice on the other end of the phone — where he has been spending most of his time the last couple of years doing the bidding of the far right.

Barkhouse is proof of how much impact one person can wreak in the political process when he puts his mind — and a telephone — to it. His targets are social change activists. A call here, a letter there, and unsuspecting groups suddenly find themselves at the centre of a firestorm.

Consider what Barkhouse has accomplished over the last couple of years. He has:

- managed to get Anti-Racist Action (ARA) banned from high schools in Scarborough and Durham
- lobbied against Metro council's and the Trillium Foundation's funding of an ARA youth conference
- filed a complaint with the Canadian Radio and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) over a December 96 ARA program on CKLN radio
- complained to Revenue Canada about the Youth Action Network's use of another nonprofit's charitable number
- lodged a complaint with the tax man over the United Way's funding of the Metro Network for Social Justice's participation in the Metro Days Of Action
- joined the Caribbean Cultural Committee, the group that hosts Caribana
- tried to infiltrate the Communist Party of Canada.

Enigmatic moment

But his most enigmatic moment came last March, when he unaccountably approached the ARA and offered them information on right-wing activities — info that proved instrumental in the recent firing of Mississauga high school teacher and Holocaust denier Paul Fromm.

Why did this far-right enthusiast try to finesse his way into the ranks of arch-enemy the ARA? And who the hell is George Barkhouse anyway?

* * *

Standing in his slippers, with a fading sword-and-skull tattoo on his right forearm, Barkhouse is a difficult guy to put a finger on. As he speaks, his flickering grey-blue eyes take in the Metro Housing complex here in Scarborough. He jerks at every shout and screen door opening.

This is our third conversation — the first two were by phone — but he still manages to be elusive. Is he a member of the Heritage Front?

"Oh no," he says.

The one group he does admit to being a member of is the Voice of Canadians — an organization that opposes multiculturalism and dabbles in gun-toting conspiracy theories about one-world government.

If he isn't a member of the Front, I ask, how come the Front's newsletter boasts of a list of interventions identical to the activities he's been involved in?

No answer.

And why is he so intent on telling me how upset he is that a skinhead concert in Buffalo last weekend was disrupted by a band of antiracist youth?

Again, no clear response.

Sniffing around the Front yields the whiff of association. I ask the group's talking head, Wolfgang Droege, about him.

"Make no mistake, I know George Barkhouse," he tells me.

"But to say he's a Heritage Front activist is to overstate it."

Right-winger George Barkhouse campaigned against the same antiracists he plied with information

3

He does, however, say he can get me in touch with Barkhouse.

And he seems nervous about the story — he calls me out of the blue on a Saturday to get an update.

If it isn't immediately clear who Barkhouse is working for, he's managed to whip up some bad air around ARA. He's made contact with some 77 school boards across the province, asking them to ban the organization from school property, and boasts about racking up a $500 telephone bill for his troubles.

Some have bitten — Durham and Scarborough, to be precise. One school official Barkhouse has managed to impress is Gary Ranalli, race relations facilitator of the Durham board. One student got told not to wear a T-shirt with the group's insignia in class because it was thought it might offend.

"When a group establishes a reputation, it has to go an extra mile to reestablish itself," Ranalli says. "I have no problem with them being militant in their antiracism. What I don't like is when you deal with it outside the law."

In this regard, ARA has made itself vulnerable — beginning with the trashing of former Heritage Front member Gary Schipper's house back in 93. The arson attack on Ernst Zundel's home that followed — members of the group have denied involvement but have publicly approved of the act — added fuel. While ARA says it operates within the law, it nevertheless has an orientation toward disrupting fascist meetings and pumps its penchant for physical resistance.

Barkhouse has made good use of ARA's own material — detailing its boasts on their Web site about breaking up meetings and touting the militant efforts of antiracists elsewhere around the globe. He often refers, too, to statements made in ARA's own anti-hate conference report of last summer about stopping the fascists "physically."

In order to get an $8,000 grant from Metro for its youth conference last summer, ARA was asked to renounce violence. But member Kristen [redacted] says about that now, "We made a legal statement, not a moral one."

Another member adds, "ARA came out of a street-oriented scene. The group couldn't exist without remaining committed to people in that scene. We represent rebellious youth.

"We're not going to repeat what other groups do. Ours is a grassroots, peer-based response. A lot of people don't want to admit it, but we've done good work."

He says Barkhouse's effect is to undermine ARA's support in more mainstream groups.

Violence angle

The violence angle has played well in education ministry ranks. One staffer in the ministry's now-defunct race relations office says Barkhouse has been "receiving a certain level of sympathy from political staff" — even telephone access to those closest to the minister, which is unusual for your run-of- the-mill complainer.

"They see him as an interesting source of potential information," the source says.

"What he does is communicate in language that appeals to their position on violence in the schools. They lump ARA in with hate groups. They don't understand the nuance. In their mind, ARA has fairly extreme ways of expressing its views."

It seems some of the tension at the political top has been filtering back down to those in the antiracism ranks.

One employee of the Toronto board who took part in ARA's conference was hauled into the director's office to explain why. The board, it seems, didn't want to be sending out conflicting messages about its zero tolerance policy on violence.

Barkhouse not only tried to get the group excommunicated from high schools, but he also went after its funding. The trustee for the ARA conference grant was the BC-based Canadian Anti-Racism Education and Research Society (CAERS).

The group's executive director, Alan Dutton, says he got a call from Barkhouse, who identified himself as a church "elder" — a reference to his membership in a local Mormon parish. (The bishop of Barkhouse's church says the title is not supposed to be used unless church business is being enacted.)

Barkhouse says he was seeking information about the group.

Ernst Zundel, the self-proclaimed guru of the right, took the matter further and went to the police after it was revealed that CAERS didn't have its incorporation papers in order.

By then, Barkhouse was already busy getting in the Trillium Foundation's face about its own $8,000 grant to ARA slated to cover the travel costs of those coming from out of town for the group's conference.

One Trillium employee says Barkhouse was calling regularly for more than a month. Droege and others were calling, too.

At one point, a Metro detective was called in from the anti-hate crimes unit to give the staff a presentation.

"(Barkhouse) made a lot of noise and generated a lot of discussion," recounts one employee at Trillium's offices. "There was a new government and here's this arms-length agency they're not sure is compatible with their views. MPPs don't generally know who these people are. To them it would just seem like another constituent."

Indeed. The waves managed to lap all the way up to citizenship minister Marilyn Mushinski's office. A statement soon followed saying that the ministry is "taking a closer look at the role and function of the foundation (and) looking at various options, including redefining the role Trillium plays in supporting community projects."

It quoted Mushinski as saying, "The organization should

• Continued on page 21

What one man and his telephone can do

• Continued from page 19

be dedicated to supporting projects that build communities."

Most of the foundation's board members have been replaced over time.

Droege says he likes to think his efforts helped in the cause. He says a certain Tory MPP, who will go unnamed, also helped put pressure on Mushinski.

But Barkhouse's coup de grace came early last March, when he approached ARA with some information to share.

He told them an interesting story about a couple of rightist gatherings out west — including a secret meeting Mississauga high school teacher and Holocaust denier Fromm was sponsoring at the Surrey Inn in BC. The info was turned over to ARA contacts there, and meetings were subsequently shut down when ARA types, with media in tow, arrived on the scene.

The Surrey soiree information also ended up forming part of a complaint made by B'nai Brith against Fromm that culminated in his firing in February. He wasn't supposed to be fraternizing, as per an earlier Peel school board directive, with the usual suspects on the right.

Fromm is grieving the decision but seems caught off guard that Barkhouse, whom he describes as "being around the scene for a long time" — including several of his meetings — unwittingly helped do him in, so to speak.

But he doesn't want to hit at Barkhouse directly and allows him a ready out. The info "could have come from two sources. That's always possible."

Barkhouse certainly has had access when it comes to Fromm. He showed the ARA photos Fromm took of a meeting disrupted by the ARA in 95.

Divert attention

The ARA types who initially met with Barkhouse got the feeling he was playing games right from the start. He began trying to give the group advice — they say he advised them to "divert" attention from direct actions against rightist meetings and toward right-wing think tanks like the Mackenzie Institute.

"He thought we were a bunch of naive kids who can be easily manipulated," is one ARA member's take on Barkhouse's overture.

Barkhouse, meanwhile, is having a problem explaining what he was trying to do with the ARA.

"In the beginning, I thought I was doing the right thing," he says elusively. "But then, sitting back and looking at it, I felt one (the right) was just as bad as the other (the left)," Barkhouse says. "Have you ever made a decision and then turned around and changed it?"

To hear Barkhouse tell it, he's just trying to do his bit as a concerned citizen. Like the time he called B'nai Brith to tip them off to a meeting the Nation of Islam was holding at a unit in Metro housing. Karen Mock of B'nai Brith remembers that his concern was the use of taxpayer-supported property for NOI activities.

He says his interests are larger than anti-racists and the far right. He boasts he was a member of the Caribbean Cultural Committee, the group that organizes the annual Caribana fest. He says one of his suggestions was for individuals in the black community to put up Caribana visitors so hotels wouldn't get all the financial benefit.

But when Metro was balking at providing more funds to the financially troubled agency, Barkhouse was pushing for an internal audit.

He's quick to add that stories about him running interference and trying to infiltrate groups like ARA for his pals on the right are grossly exaggerated. Of course, there was the time back in 95 when he approached the Communist party about becoming a member. While he admits to the failed foray, he offers no rhyme or reason for his actions.

According to CP head Miguel Figueroa, Barkhouse presented himself then as a Front member — and offered to become a double agent.

Figueroa wasn't biting. "We smelled a rat right away," he says.

Back out in front of his house, Barkhouse is talking now about giving up the fight. He lifts his pant leg to reveal a scar from recent knee surgery. I get the sense he's trying to inspire a little sympathy.

"After this CRTC complaint, that's it," he says, referring to yet another salvo against the ARA. "Basically, I'm tired. I can't keep doing this much longer." ●

How many times was Hugh Dawson shot?
10, 20, 30 times?

Why did Detective Rick Shank, the killer of Ian Coley, take his wife along to the killing of Hugh Dawson?

Hugh Dawson

Is the killing of Black men by police officers of Metropolitan Toronto now a SPECTATOR SPORT?

PROTEST
THE POLICE SLAUGHTER OF HUGH DAWSON

41 Division
Birchmount & Eglinton
Saturday, May 3, 1997
2pm

COALITION AGAINST RACIST POLICE VIOLENCE

for more info: Black Action Defence Committee 656-2232 • Chinese-Canadian National Council (Toronto) 596-0833
Anti-Racist Action 631-8835 • Toronto Coalition Against Racism 530-0262 • OPIRG-York 736-2100 ext. 30323

ARALA/Copwatch
INSURGENCY CULTURE COLLECTIVE
P.O. BOX 712191
LOS ANGELES, CA 90071 USA

5-5-97

Dear Friends,

Our chief project over the past 2 months have [redacted] involved organizing against institutional racism.

On March 16 we participated with People Against Racist Terror in a conference on institutional racism held at [redacted] the Hoover Recreation Center auditorium in the University Park neighborhood of South LOS Angeles near USC. An article on this conference appears in Turning the Tide, the antiracist paper produced by PART.

Our campaign to educate young people about their rights when dealing with the cops has been widening with other Anarchist groups in Southern California [redacted] joining us in distributing [redacted] literature which says "Know Your Rights" and "Just Say NO TO the FBI and Police." (4D)

we have also been distributing literature from War Resisters League which says "It's Not Just a Job, It's 8 years of your life." This says don't Joint the Military because it is Racist, Sexist and Homophobic and [redacted] gives young people tips on how to look for and interview for a job.

My collective ICC participated in the Anarchist Book Fair March 29 in Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. We Silkscreen and Sell Anarchist and Political T-shirts. Our designs include:

"Smash Fascism," "Those Are Your Enemies"
"Capitalism Makes Us Slaves, Racism Makes Us Ignorant of Our Slavery"
"Viva EZLN, Revolucion o Muerte"
"No Human Being Is Illegal"
"In the Spirit of Total Resistance" and "Direct Action"

All our Anti Racist Stuff sold like hotcakes.

I picked up alot of stuff against ROTC and JROTC which is another important institutional racism issue. Recently we have begun trying to get stuff out against ROTC programs in schools. I want to do a pamphlet that says "Smash Fascism! Expell ROTC!"

This week a man was murdered by the cops for J-Walking. He reached for a bible in his pants and the cop shot him dead. Although I don't approve of religion, I wouldn't advocate the death penalty for bible waving (ha ha). This goes to show how way out of hand the cops are. The worst thing that can happen to a cop for cold blooded murder is to loose his or her job. That's equivalent to getting expelled (x2)

from school.

Another recent issue here is the Crime bill that forbits convicted spouse abusers [redacted] from owning firearms. As a result, alot of Sheriffs Deputies and Cops [redacted] in Southern [redacted] California are being forced into desk jobs. If a cop beats his or her spouse, immagine what they do to people they don't love!

ICC is now participating in putting out an Anarchist Newspaper based in Southern Californid. The Jaywalking incident shows the need to start putting out a Copwatch Report on Police abuse in Southern Californid. [redacted] We haven't [redacted] found anybody interested in doing Copwatch patrols at this point, but this would be a good project to educate people in the extent of the Police abuse problem in the

mean time. Our Copwatch workshop was small but, everything starts small. At this point we are looking into doing a Copwatch Report and trying to find lawyers to take Pro-bono police abuse cases. This kind of case work is alot of what Copwatch does in Berkeley. According to them, their Copwatch activity is a continuation of similar activity begun originally by the Black Panthers.

A recent Supreme Court decision said that local government can no longer be sued and held accountable for brutality and abuses by their cops if they have no explicit policy against such abuse. this is really scary. Attorneys are trying to say that this won't prevent lawsuits but, it is already

very difficult to sue the cops and win. I have a friend whose got put on crotches by a police beating because the cops came to a party at the co-op house where he was living and tried to search his girlfriend's bedroom without a search warrent. When he said they couldn't, they swarmed him and beat the crap out of him. His first trial was a mistrial because the cops brought in cops who busted him at the San Francisco Food Not Bombs Gathering for protesting the ban on feeding the homeless. They said that he was a "Professional Agitator" which justified their behavior (which means that it's OK for cops to try to cripple anyone if they don't like your politics). His second trial is coming up.

This situation shows the need to creat political pressure against police abuse. I believe that this also apply to racial issues.

This weekend I talked with women from Grover Beach ARA at a local Food Not Bombs conference. We talked about how open White Supremacists were in their area. In Los Feliz Village I saw propaganda from the Church of the Creator (Aryan Nations) being sold openly in an alternative book store. This shows the need to be equally open in sharing our [redacted] Revulsion for racism.

[redacted] Grover Beach ARA is looking into organizing

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an "Antifest" for ARA Groups here in California. ARALA and Ventura ARA would probably participate, among others. I'm sure they can give you more info.

I hope to be able to attend some ARA conferences in the future.

Note: PART is celebrating their 10th anniversary on May 13. I include that notice and pictures of some of our shirts.

Take Care.

Sincerely,

Scott

May 13

The Fight Against White Supremacy and Reactionary Violence

Celebrate the 10th anniversary of People Against Racist Terror,

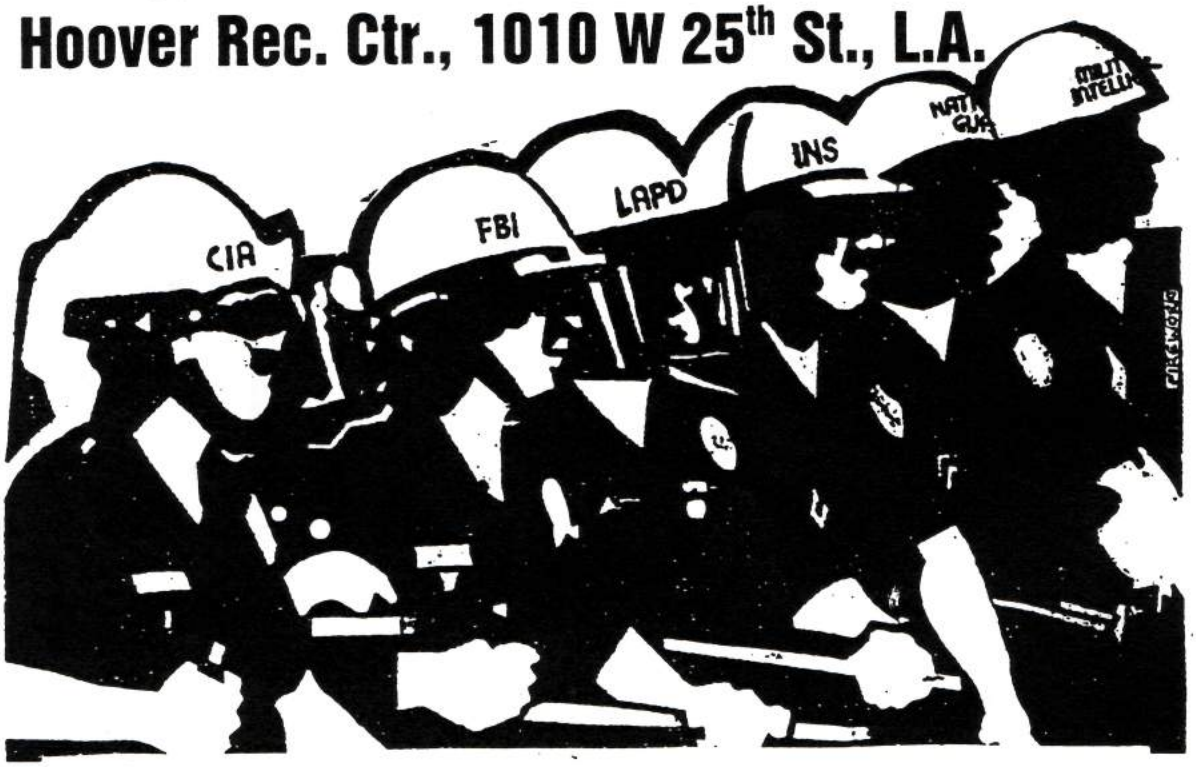
Look back at the struggles to free Geronimo, Mumia, and other political prisoners.
Discuss how to guide future struggles.
Learn how to help raise funds to sustain those struggles.

Slide Show on the Anti Racist Struggle
Founder Michael Novick will speak
7 PM
Luna Sol Cafe, 2501 W. 6th St., L.A.
Call (310) 288-5003

Community Conference and Gathering Against Police Brutality, Racism & Abuse

Sunday, March 16, 1997 noon - 5:00 pm

Hoover Rec. Ctr., 1010 W 25th St., L.A.



Noon: Panel of Activists on Police Abuse Issues from Black, Latino, Asian/Pacific, And Lesbian/Gay Communities

2:00 Workshops on Police Racism, COP-Watch, Legal Rights, Police Espionage, and Community Organizing

Across the country, an epidemic of cop misconduct is a growing problem. In St. Petersburg, FL, the police killing of Black motorist TyRon Lewis led to several days of rebellion. In Pittsburgh, PA, 1000's marched to protest the police killing of Jonny Gammage, cousin of Steelers star Ray Seals, and the failure of the criminal justice system to hold the police perpetrators to account. In Ventura County, half a dozen families are currently suing the police for the deaths of loved ones in custody. In the Inland Empire, hundreds of sheriff's deputies face losing their ability to carry guns because of convictions for domestic abuse. In L.A., the reforms proposed after the beating of Rodney King are unrealized, but LAPD has been held liable for discriminating against Black, Latino and women officers.

SOMETHING MUST BE DONE — IMMEDIATELY!

People Against Racist Terror (PART) has put together a community coalition against police brutality, racism and abuse, in response to a call for an international day of action on March 15. We want to build an effective network of community groups, families of victims, legal workers and political activists, and to stimulate the growth of community based COP-Watch efforts and educational campaigns.

Community Coalition Against Police Brutality, Racism & Abuse Final Planning Meeting: Tuesday, March 11, 7:00 pm Luna Sol Cafe, 2501 W. Sixth St., Los Angeles

For more information, call People Against Racist Terror (PART) — 310-288-5003.
P.O. Box 1055, Culver City CA 90232; email <mnovickttt@igc.apc.org>

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May 1, 1997

Dear Mpls ARA

Whats up guys...comrades from Toronto suggested we right up a little thing about our newly formed ARA, I hope it's an appropriate size. Peace!

P.S. Dave says Hi to Katrina, Molly and the other kids whose names he forgets (sorry)

The Kitchener-Waterloo area has a long history of fascist organizing. Only a few years back the Heritage Front was operating here; holding meetings, recruiting at high schools, attempted (but failed) to hold a "rock for racialism" concert, and twice fire bombed the house of a Jewish women activist, among other things. A militant ARA-styled group was formed and successfully pushed the nazi presence out of K-W.

However, during the last year nazis have began to make their presence felt again, being responsible for numerous incidents of harassment and assault on youth of color, suspect queers and white anti-racists. In response to the growing need for counter action, people (primarily youth) have gotten together and started an ARA. As we've just gotten started we've been tabling at shows and events, we have spoken on request at a local high school, we are preparing to participate in an upcoming National Day of Protest against the federal government, and we plan to produce a publication in the near future. We look forward to making our city a nazi-free zone and joining the continental movement to wipe out fascism.

K-W ARA

Athens Anti- Racist Action
P. O. Box 298
Athens, Ohio 45701

Minneapolis ARA:

The following information is for your upcoming newsletter with chapter updates. Since we have never done this before we have no idea what format to follow or if there is one. Please feel free to not include or change this if it is wrong or not needed.

We are currently co-sponsoring an **Ohio University Anti-Racism week**. This week will include; speakers, a vigil, movies, multicultural programs, and tables with information from sponsors of the event.

The speakers include **Floyd Cochran** and **Dr. Robert Rhodes** of the African America Studies Department. Floyd Cochran will be speaking on his experience with Aryan Nation and Dr. Rhodes will address the issue of the roots of racism.

Floyd Cochran: **Tuesday, May 27th (7-9) Morton Hall, Room 237**
Dr. Robert Rhodes: **Thursday, May 29 (time and date to be announced)**

More events to be announced.

Please contact **Athens ARA** for more information.

Dear Comrades,

This is just a short note to clarify the following material we've sent for the bulletin. First of all, we're not "ARA Baltimore", though we have called ourselves Anti-Racist Action and we are from Baltimore, so the papers have called us ARA Baltimore. We have since gotten in touch with some of the ARA Baltimore folks. We are are the same people involved with *Claustrophobia*, on the off chance that any of you have seen that newspaper.

We had put alot of time and thought into how to make ourselves clear to people who were coming from a different perspective. We wanted to get in touch with some kids that we could work with. So far it seems like a pretty big failure on these two points. Probably the biggest factor aiding the confusion that obscured our intentions was the kind of obtuse imagery used that relied on people having time to read the article and figure it out. The situation at the school made it difficult for kids to read the whole thing and also to trust that we weren't just some more assholes fucking with them.

The letter that we sent to the paper was an attempt to clarify ourselves in hopes again of making contact (and also to just try to fix what we might have broken). It seems to us that kids there have probably heard enough of us and don't really care what our intentions were, which is understandable. All of this is really difficult to get a grasp on because we have no broad view of how we were percieved, nor any contact in the school through which to communicate. We started off very outside and have remained so.

We still think the flyer is pretty good in its attempt at an anti-racist vernacular. The problem is how do you talk about things in a particular language that have not been spoken in that language before? It is basically creating a language. We see that as a major task for anti-racist struggle among whites, or any revolutionary struggle. Many ideas that we present in the flyer are only spoken among the university educated, or within radical political circles, but not among semi-rural working class whites. Of course, this can be done in a totally patronizing way; we are not saying that its a matter of talking down, or making it simpler, but that it have meaning to a particular experience.

Hopefully there are lessons here that can be applied. We're appreciative of any feedback anyone might have.

power to freedom,

3 anti-racist anarchists
c/o Claustrophobia
P.O. Box 1721
Baltimore, MD 21203

p.s. we just read a pretty cool book called "Fuhrer-Ex" by this german ex-neo-nazi Ingo Hasselbach. Its a good inside description of the nazi scene there, with accounts of street fighting with the Anti-fas/Autonomen, and perspective of how this rebellious E. German kid who should've been an anarchist became a neo-nazi. You can probably find it in the library.

think for a minute about what it means to be into "racialism"...

The first people from Europe to work the land here weren't "white" people. They were slaves to the same people who stole slaves from Africa. They were prisoners in England or Spain who were forced to work as sailors so that Columbus and them could carry Africans to America and fat cash back to Europe. They were refugees who were trying to escape from the hell that life in Europe had become for people without money & land. "Whiteness" wasn't even invented until two hundred years later when it got to be real obvious that European servants were getting together with black slaves and fucking shit up.

The Klan and all those groups were never really about "protecting white people's rights" or whatever else they might say. After the Civil War (which wasn't really about freeing slaves) freed slaves and poor people of all colors started to organize their own lives so they wouldn't be dependant on the plantation owners for their survival. The rich plantation owners started to push the idea of the Klan and other racist terrorist groups because they were scared at the concept of having to do without slaves, and they knew that racial divisions were the easiest way to divide and conquer the people.

All of this can be checked out. If your history doesn't make sense its probably cause you're never told the whole story, and racism just plays on that ignorance. The point is to know honestly where you come from and where you're at.

Anti-Racist Action
P.O. Box 1721 * Baltimore, MD 21203 * (410) 243-2925

. . . a Klansman and a Businessman are having a Good Laugh over Vo-Tech. . .

Don't you hate the fact that you're probably gonna work the next forty years at some boring-ass factory or wherever and all you get is TV and bullshit to spend money on? Well someone figured we might get pissed off so they gave us someone else to hate. We'd sooner steal from work than hate black folks, cause we know who our real enemies are, and our real friends.

Racism is the "joke" suckered white folks tell each other that sends bosses laughing all the way to the bank. While white folks that ain't got shit tell each other "funny" "jokes" about hunting black folks that have even less, rich bastards sit comfortably in their luxurious houses. Why are they comfortable? Because bosses know that as long as white workers think racism is funny they will never get together with Black workers and take what is ours

in common: a life of freedom and the fruit of our labor. Rich whiteys also know that every time Black folks hear about another fucked-up "joke" or racist attack on theirselves they become less willing to join with whites to fight the capitalists.

Why is racism so funny to some white people and nobody else? Racism is the joke that only white people get because only white people can get anything from racism. The way it is in Amerikkka, white people, even poor whites, get privileges and benefits from white skin. If the world was divided between just the rich owners and the poor workers then it wouldn't be too long before the poor would tear it down and create a world for themselves. But the innovation of the Amerikkkan system was to create classes of working people who would be given more comfortable lives in exchange for obediance to the ruling class, aka patriotism. These people, placed between the rich and the poor, would stand as a fortress around the rich. The way that this was done was to raise up even the poorest whites and give them rights and economic security that were denied most Blacks, Latinos, Natives and other oppressed peoples.

White racists probably also laugh at the fact that hundreds of thousands of brown kids (Black, Latino, Indian - you know - not "white") are going to prison. Yeah, its real funny that most kids who use drugs are white but most of the kids in prison for drug use are brown. They probably think its funny that poverty is growing in Amerikkkan cities which are largely brown. They probably laugh at the growing rates of TB, infant mortality, and AIDS among poor people in those same cities. They probably really enjoy watching the news when another Black teenager is reported shot by the police for a traffic violation, or when the death penalty has been used against another Black man.

At the same time things aren't getting better for a lot of "white" people either. Be clear on where our oppression comes from. As long as you think you're "white", they'll have you on a leash. Don't get played like that by the nazis and the cops and bosses. We want a life of freedom and adventure, and whiteness can't give you that. At some point you have to choose: whether you want to live and struggle and love alongside the rest of the world, or whether you're going to shut yourself off in a little white fantasy world where things are pretty comfortable as long as you can keep yourself believing in the lies you try and convince yourself of, and keep yourself from choking on the hate you need to swallow in order to accept those lies.

If you're interested at all, get in touch with us. We're a group of young working-class anti-racists who live down in Baltimore, and we're interested in hooking up and talking with anyone who wants to fight racism at Vo-tech and everywhere else.

look what we made. 1D

Dance helped make 1996 a weird year. 1

Suit alleges lens wearers were cheated. 8

Racist fliers disrupt Vo-Tech

■ The NAACP wants to investigate the letter that describes a 'hunting season' on black people.

By MIKE ABRAMS and CHAD REED
Daily Record staff

As many as 10 York Vo-Tech students were suspended this week for circulating 200 copies of a flier that described a hunting season on black people, two students said. Copies were placed on some black students' desks.

One of the suspended students, a 17-year-old who studies welding, said he received a three-day, in-school suspension for possessing the flier.

The student, who spoke on the condition his name not be used, said other students, who are thought to have taken a more active role in circulating the letter, were suspended out of school for three to five days.

"None of us are racist," he said. "It was just a little joke."

Two ringleaders received the longest suspensions, he said.

This was not the first racial incident at York County Vocational-Technical School, a countywide school of about 1,000 high school-age students located off South Queen Street in York Township.

For years, York Vo-Tech has had a reputation as a rough place, where racial tensions run high. While confronting long-term declining enrollment, officials also noticed a trend of poor retention of minority students.

Parents, students, some faculty members and school officials around the county have pushed Vo-Tech administrators to make the place friendlier and more diverse. Most recently, the school made Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday a full

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See FLIERS, page 4A

Fliers

Continued from 1A

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holiday.

The one-page hunting letter may have circulated at York area factories for months before the Vo-Tech students obtained a copy. One student said his father had seen the flier at work.

It purports to be a notice to sportsmen from Pennsylvania's "Department of Fish and Wildlife." (There is no such agency, and the phone number on the letterhead has a West Virginia area code.) The flier says last winter's snow and flooding depleted deer and other game, causing Gov. Tom Ridge to name a "substitute game animal."

The flier refers to numerous stereotypes about black people and uses nearly two dozen different racial slurs.

Vo-Tech Associate Principal Donald Donley said administrators see or hear about racially explicit materials occasionally. He would not discuss specific materials or incidents, including this week's.

Donley said he and his colleagues investigate every matter and discipline all individuals they believe are involved. They also report suspected "hate crimes" to police.

"We've had some of those things floating around," he said. "We've handled those situations tough."

When asked to elaborate, he said students found guilty receive in-school or out-of-school suspensions. In the most severe cases, they are expelled, he said.

About three weeks ago, the two ringleaders used a photocopier in the school library to make as many as 200 copies of the letter, the unnamed student said. Another student, who was not suspended, confirmed the details of his story.

The suspended student said he is not a racist but thought the slurs against black people and the spoof on hunting season were amusing.

"Actually, I did get a kick out of it," he said. "I have black friends, and I don't have anything against them."

He said other students placed copies of the letter on the desks of black students.

"They thought it would be funny to give them one and see what they do," he said. "But they screwed up."

School administrators called the 10 students to the main office this week, and handed down the punishments, he said.

Three administrators, including Donley, told them the letter brought calls from the parents of black students and from black organizations.

Baba Whifler, the president of the York National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said the organization will investigate the letter. She learned about it from the Daily Record.

"This cannot be tolerated," Whifler said. "We are going to look into it, because we can't trust Vo-Tech as far as we can throw them."

Whifler said simply punishing the students is not enough.

"Suspend them and they will be back, and what will change?" she said. "They are a danger to society."

The student said he doesn't think he should have been suspended simply for possessing the flier. However, he admitted others might not have found it as funny as he did.

"I can see their point," he said.

Clarifying an effort to fight racism at Vo-Tech

NATHANIEL SCOTT

In response to the articles which your paper ran recently, we'd like o say a few things about our action at ork Vo-Tech in the hopes of clarifying o Vo-Tech students our intent and conued desire to aid their struggle gainst racism.

First, we are an anti-racist group. We've heard that some students initially nisunderstood the flier which we wrote nd distributed to be a thoughtless rank trivializing the pain which racist livision has caused the Vo-Tech commuity, or worse, an actual piece of white upremacist literature parodying an nti-racist group.

We sincerely apologize and accept reponsibility for any pain and insult this as caused people. We wrote what we thought to be a clear anti-racist essay and handed it out as a means of making contact with people in the local community who felt similarly. We now understand that our position wasn't clearly enough stated.

At the same time, this misunderstanding is an indication of many of those problems we tried to address by our actions. Passing out fliers that morning, most students were at least curious to hear about alternative anti-racist ideas.

A couple kids offered to take fliers to hand out themselves, and others said they were glad someone was supporting them. We feel that the school administration bears responsibility for creating a climate of suspicion and confusion by immediately declaring our fliers the work of a "hate group" and confiscating them.

It's true that this is a sensitive issue which the school community needs to deal with, and the work of "outsiders" like ourselves cannot be used as a substitute for or a diversion from that process.

However, limiting the means with which students can fight racism serves no purpose. Did the school administration intentionally "misunderstand" our intent in order to silence the input of voices like ours and keep the issue within their self-imposed boundaries? If so, they also contributed to the painful wounds this misunderstanding opened up.

One newspaper article made the statement that our flier had a cartoon of a black slave on a leash. The cartoon this refers to, which reads "The dog imitates the master ... but only eats the leftovers," was taken from a stencil series entitled "You Don't Have to - - - - People Over to Survive' by the radical artist Seth Tobocman.

We thought the meaning was clear within the context of the flier, but apparently it wasn't. The metaphor of the "dog" was intended to represent white racists who imitate the sick attitudes they see in "masters" like the CEOs at Texaco, but never have a chance of "sitting at the master's table." In this way racist working class whites perpetuate their own disempowerment.

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Our spelling of "Amerikkka" also apparently confused people. This is a spelling that rappers like Ice Cue and Tupac Shakur have always used, as well as a number of other outspoken anti-racists like the hard-core group Rage Against The Machine.

We have never heard of white supremacist groups using this word and are still not sure just what they would mean by using it. To us it was a convenient shorthand to refer to the racist foundation of American society.

Racism is a deep and ugly sickness in our society. We intended to offer our support to students who wanted to struggle to make their scene a "no-go" zone for racism and start some discussion on what it means to fight racism today. We are still looking to help the struggle in whatever way those involved find useful.

Nathaniel Scott is a member of Anti-Racist Action, Baltimore.

Anti-racist fliers stir up new disputes at troubled Vo-Tech

■ **The fliers used harsh language and images that school officials said were inappropriate.**

By MIKE ABRAMS
Daily Record staff

Three people handed out anti-racist fliers to students before classes Thursday morning in front of York Vo-Tech. It was the same day students participated in sensitivity training to cope with recent racial problems at the school.

Anti-Racist Action — a Baltimore group of "young working-class" people against racism — claimed responsibility for the fliers.

The group's work takes up four half-page sheets and features cartoons depicting black slaves on leashes and a black elephant carrying an anti-racist banner.

"Stomp Racism" appears in large letters on the first page, above the words, "...A Klansman and a Businessman are having a Good Laugh over Vo-Tech..."

The flier uses several swear words and argues that racism is a plot by rich business leaders to divide the working class.

"...as long as white workers think racism is funny," the flier reads, "they will never get together with Black workers and take what is ours in common: a life of freedom and the fruit of our labor."

Characteristic of some hate group literature, one reference to American was spelled Amerikkkan.

A representative of the group said Thursday that strong language is part of being anti-racist — that in order to defeat hate, they must use such language.

JANUARY BOARD MEETING
Page 7A

Even so, school officials seized as many of the fliers as they could, describing them as vulgar and unauthorized. They also asked York Township Police to investigate the people handing out the literature and called local media to head off anonymous tipsters.

Administration officials suspect that the group responsible for handing out the fliers may be trying to cause trouble at a time when the school is coping with its problems.

"I don't see it promoting anti-racism at all," said Albert Glennon, superintendent of the York County Vocational-Technical School. "My initial response was that it is just more garbage, that the Vo-Tech's just being used."

The flier distribution came less than two months after some students at the Vo-Tech copied and circulated a racist

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See FLIERS, page 7A

Minneapolis ARA
P.O. Box 80239
Mpls, MN 55408

Louisville ARA
P.O. Box 4964
Lou, KY 40204-0964

Inclosed is several issues of the new hARAss, and the latest issue of BRAT. The article about the teen-curfew will give you a good look at what we have been doing recently.

Here are my responses to ARA Net proposals from the #5 Bulletin.

In response to Toronto's idea of regional ARA nets, I am sceptical; for, I feel, a lot of our strength is in our international perspective of stooping racism.

I am in full agreement with Jason's proposals from Detroit. He suggested that 12 dollars a month be sent to the facilitating chapter of that year (the chapter that does the Net Bulletin). But I do think it would be best for chapters to send cash (checks have names and addresses on them), and that proper accounting is done.

As for the delegate meeting, I have never been to a May 1st parade, and wouldn't mind being in Chicago at that time.

Proposal for next delegate meeting, from Damon Lou. ARA

I believe that the issue of A.N. and the K.K.K. continually demonstrating in Columbus each year be brought up, and that we decide on putting a lot more effort into the counter demo for next year. Things like developing new strategies, comitting to send Columbus more activist early in order to help mobilize the community, and preparing a separate fund specifically for that event. These are just some ideas, but I believe this is a very serious problem because the people of Columbus have become used to a fascist presents in their city.

Damon Thompson\ member
ARA Louisville

fight back!

Democracy is in the Streets

Prepare for Anti Curfew Street Protests & Other radical Demonstration

flyer for workshop that ADA members are facilitating to prepair for up coming direct civil disobedience against the curfew

FREE WORKSHOP on Civil Disobediance

Sunday, March 23rd
4:30 PM
we'll meet at the parking lot in
* Frisbee Field
(Cherokee Park)

THE NEWSLETTER
OF ANTI-RACIST ACTION
LOUISVILLE, KY
(502) 485-0410
abrupt@aye.net

HARASS

NUMBER TWO
SPRING 1997
FREE!

A NEW WAY TO DEAL WITH RACISM

How do Americans deal with racism?

We ignore it; we applaud it. We pray for the souls of the racists; we pray that anti-racist activists will burn in Hell. We hope it goes it away; we hope it takes over the planet. We pass laws to prevent Klansmen from wearing their hoods in public; we pass laws to prevent minorities from getting a fair chance. We celebrate Black History Month; we display the Confederate flag from our buildings and on our vehicles. We won't tolerate racist jokes; we make fun of Kwanzaa behind closed doors. We write grand statements about our commitment to diversity; we don't allow black employees to become managers. We hate racists; we practice racism.

How does ARA deal with racism?

ARA is well known for its confrontational tactics. When organized bigots (homophobes, racists, anti-Semites, gynophobes, etc.) hold their rallies, their conferences or their mass meetings, we are there to disrupt their schedules, intimidate their supporters and drown out their bullshit. We surround them, we heckle them, and we discourage them.

In the past our tactics have worked very well. The police didn't know how to deal with hundreds of marching, chanting militants intent on direct confrontation with the racists. However, the cops have wised up.

Now we are put into "pens" so that the police can better maintain "order." The racists go into one pen. Their supporters go into another pen. The anti-racists, including ARA, end up in another (usually the largest) pen. These pens are often no more than simple steel barriers designed more for marking boundaries than to prevent movements. The walls of the pen are almost always lined with cops who are there to oversee the integrity of the pen's borders.

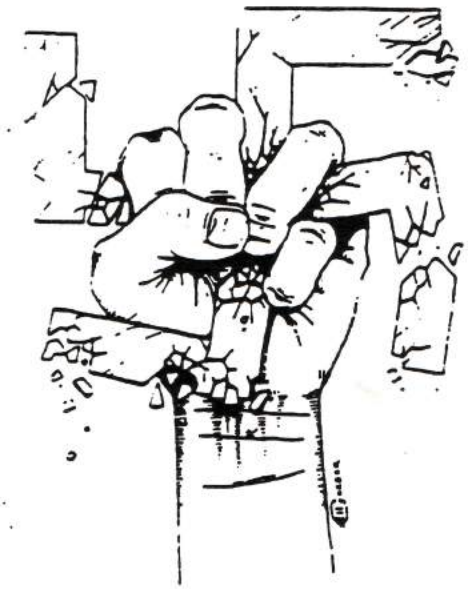
There we are: three groups separated into pens, dozens or hundreds of yards apart, barely able to see or hear each other. Why do we voluntarily move into these pens? All we can do is attempt to drown out the racists' garbage with a little hollering and screaming of our own. We can carry signs and chant slogans, but we can't really accomplish anything other than cancelling out the evil message of the racists.

We must stop going into the pens. We need to think of alternatives. Perhaps we should try going into the pro-Klan (or pro-Aryan Nations, or pro-Buchanan, or whatever) pens. Sometimes these pens are closer to the racists than the anti-pens. Also, inside the pro pens we have a chance to directly confront racists and their supporters.

Another option would be to stay out of the pens altogether. They restrict our movement and hinder us from quick reactions. Outside of the pens and fences, we could stage a counterdemonstration or simply surround the fenced-in area and intimidate with our numbers. The problem is that counterdemonstrations are just about as effective (in terms of getting rid of the racists) as going into the pen to shout our throats sore. And we can't always rely on ourselves and our allies to rally up the kind of numbers it would take to intimidate the racists from afar.

What we really need to do is get to the Klansmen (or boneheads, or Nazis, or whatever) *before* or *after* their rally. We need to learn about their rendezvous points, their meeting places, their homes and their businesses. We need to make their identities known to their communities. We need to hold massive, militant demonstrations on *their* turf — without cops to protect them and without the media to promote them. After all, the goal is to get rid of them once and for all. The goal is not to make ourselves look good on television, or to enjoy cathartic yells and chants, or to recruit for our side. The goal is to get rid of them by humiliating them and making it impossible for them to recruit and organize as usual.

ARA Louisville plans to track down the spokespersons of the far right and expose them for what they are. We plan to post flyers and hold demonstrations outside their homes and businesses. We plan to educate our community about the evil virus of bigotry. We plan to make Louisville KY a hate-free zone.



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YOUTH AGAINST HATE

ANTI-RACIST

ACTION

Anti-Racist Action, Houston
P.O. Box 6537
Katy, TX 77491

FUCK RACISM

DO SOMETHING

ANTI-RACIST PRISONER NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT!!

CHRISTOPHER PLUMMER IS IN DESPERATE NEED OF YOUR SUPPORT. DUE TO HIS ANTI-RACIST BELIEFS AND ACTIONS, SOME RACIST HAVE PUT A PRICE ON HIS ON HIS HEAD. THIS MEANS THE NAZI'S IN PRISON *WILL* KILL HIM FOR MONEY AND THEIR RACIST BELIEFS. HE HAS STARTED AN ANTI-RACIST ACTION CHAPTER IN PRISON AND NEEDS SUPPORT FROM EACH CHAPTER! DEMAND THAT HE IS TRANSFERRED TO A DIFFERENT, PROTECTIVE UNIT NOW!!!

Stop The Hate

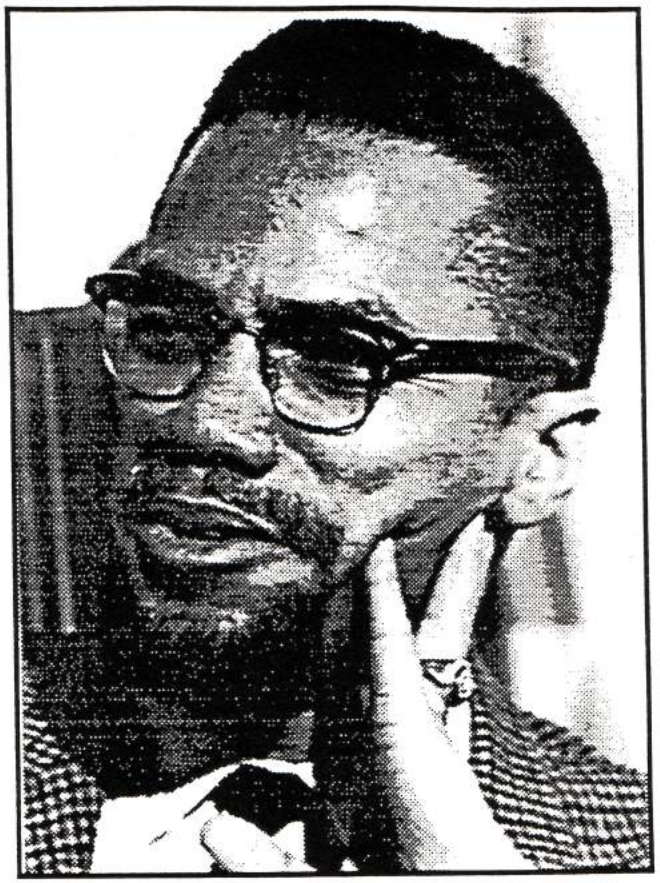
WRITE TO: TDCJ-ID
DIRECTOR OF CLASSIFICATION
P.O. BOX 99
HUNTSVILLE, TX 77342

ALSO WRITE TO CHRISTOPHER TO SHOW YOUR SUPPORT!!!! CHRISTOPHER PLUMMER
#677345
ESTELLE UNIT
HUNTSVILLE, TX 77340

60

How can we continue to live in a community that's turned into a police state?...The police are not there to protect us...they don't protect us, in fact, sometimes we need protection against them.

--malcolm x



Harlem...

. . . THE POLICE ARE KILLING YOU.

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO!!!

We want to build a militant direct action movement against police brutality. Come to a viewing of a film of a 1962 speech by Malcolm X on police brutality. A discussion will follow which critically celebrates his defense of our community. An anti-authoritarian vision will be offered which sees women of color's participation as crucial to our struggle for liberation.

MONDAY MARCH 24, 1997 6:30pm
CITY COLLEGE, NAC BUILDING,
SHAKUR MORALES CENTER,
ROOM 3201

HARLEM ANTI-RACIST ACTION
P.O. BOX 3388 NY, NY 10027 212-388-8503

Debate

•central leadership/structure debate

Central Leadership/Structure Debate

This debate occurred over email and we thought everyone should be in on it. I edited very little, except I tried to get rid of quoted pieces, so it was shorter and hopefully made more sense. All errors are my fault.--gigi

Proposal for the structure of a debate on the role of central leadership within the ARA network

by Micah, Ann Arbor

In the nine months or so that I have been an active member of ARA, whether or not we should have a central leadership has been clearly the most contentious issue in the network. While not always framed as such, this issue has been at the core of most of our debates. From whether or not someone is a member of ARA if they get suspended from their local chapter to our relationship to events such as the Grant Street action in Pittsburgh, the debate over central leadership has been at least in the background of most major disputes within the network.

Because no organization exists with the ability to try to enforce rules, the balance of power has been in favor of chapters which has not resulted in any major setbacks. None the less their exists a current of certain strength within the network which argues that if we are consolidate our gains and improve the organization that we need to form a central leadership body to oversee ARA. Because of recent controversies involving internal democracy in chapters, the lack of any decision making structure in the network, and our lack of unity in regards to the April 5 action in Pittsburgh, it is apparent that we need to have a network wide debate on this issue starting at, if not before, the June 7 delegates meeting.

While I personally believe that we need to have central leadership, I do not take it so far as to believe that the status quo is going to cause any great damage in the near future. Because of this as well as the sincere and valid concerns that many members have of an overbearing central body, and simply the enormous change that such a body would constitute, I propose that we separate this debate into two sections. The first will deal with whether or not we should have a central body while the second will deal with the composition and creation of such a body. The second topic should not be discussed formally until (and if) we decide to create such a body. This will prevent us from wasting time on creating a structure that we may never use and will potentially allow for the widest input into any central body as all members, no matter how they feel on the first topic, will be able to work on the second if the network decides to do so.

Of course none of this solves the crucial and, in my opinion, more difficult question of how exactly we are going to reach decisions as a group. Having never codified this I feel that it is best if we go by the current method simple democracy at national meetings (well planned out in advance) with 2 delegates from each chapter voting. This is far from perfect as it does fail to take into account chapters that are unable to be present at these meetings and the fact the sizes vary greatly, but it is the best method that we have at the moment.

Assuming that this proposal is agreed on (which might not be that safe of a bet) I intend to write and distribute a document titled something to the effect of" why we need a central leadership" in the next couple of days. I strongly encourage others on both sides of the issue to do the same.

Response from Jamie, Louisville:

Personally, I feel that any central leadership structure must acknowledge the autonomy of not only local ARA chapters but also individual ARA members. Any centralized "leadership" should assume more of an organizating/coordinating role and not an authoritative "enforcing the ARA rules" type role.

Of course, I'm not suggesting that Micah or anybody else has proposed a centralized authoritarian leadership or anything. I'm just putting in my (perhaps rather obvious) two cents.

Response from Micah:

While this central body should not be dictating everything that chapters can or can't do, I think that it does need to enforce some rules.

Everyone involved in ARA is part of a network and should be able to help decide what the organization believes in and works for. Sometimes this might mean expelling members (or chapters) or not accepting new members (or again, chapters) for the sake of preserving what we as a group are trying to do. Take, for example, the conversation that Ben (from Kent) posted recently with the woman who wanted to form an ARA chapter in San Diego. Now I do not know what she is like, as I have never met her, but her views on issues such as immigration are, at least for me and I hope for the vast majority of ARA members, incompatible with what ARA stands for. Gerry's message about how this could damage are image was absolutely right. If this chapter came into existence in San Diego, most people who would hear about it or come into contact with it who not know of any other ARA chapters and would get the impression that the entire network was apolitical and anti-immigrant. This would harm the work that the rest of us, not to mention other anti-racists/fascists and scare off potential members, are trying to do and should not be permitted.

But as it stands right now we have no means of keeping people like this out other than simply ignoring them, which is not very reliable. To correct this problem we need to both develop new and/or expand on the current points of unity and create a leadership body to make sure that the group can keep the network in a consistent stance.

Of course, because of political differences and mission our points of unity should not be all encompassing. But that does not mean they should be vague and exist only on paper. If someone wants to fight racism but can not accept the tenants of ARA, that is fine but they should not enter or remain in the network. Potential recruitment depends upon ARA meaning something other than what each chapter wants it to.

Response from Jamie:

How would these rules be enforced?

Take the San Diego anti-immigrant example. What's to stop those people from getting a PO Box and calling themselves ARA? Obviously, word would spread throughout ARANET and none of us would have anything to do with that chapter. We might also pass around a statement to various other left orgs and media outlets stating that San Diego ARA is not really ARA. But aside from that, what else could we do? Issue certificates of authenticity? Send in the enforcers? Copyright the ARA name and sue the rogue ARA chapters? Or what?

And who decides what the consistent stance is?

Is it not possible for someone to be anti-immigrant but also anti-racist? (PURELY hypothetical question! I do *not* share the anti-immigrant sentiments of the person used in the San Diego example.) My point is -- where do we draw the line, and who decides where the line is drawn? How flexible or fuzzy is the line? Do we admit nationalist right-wingers who are also anti-racist? What about pro-capitalism, pro-exploitation Libertarians who also want to fight bigotry? Do you see where I'm headed

with this?

Molly from Minneapolis puts in her 2 cents:

Hey, this is molly from minneapolis. I know that the proposal for central leadership will be debated at the delegate meeting, but I don't know if I can be there and I can't just let it slide. I feel that ARA- right now- is a working democracy. Any decisions that have been made so far about what goes down in the network have been made through open discussion in the bulletin and debate at conferences. This is the way for the people in ARA to feel empowered. Everyone has an equal say in what happens with ARA. So far, it's a good model for a better society. Whether or not it's intended, forming a central leadership will take decisions made about the network farther away from representing the views of all chapters. I don't see anything done up by a governing body that can't be done up by open debate. I know it takes longer, but it's hyping the spirit of equal say which I think ARA should stay true to. As far as 'rules' that ARA needs a central leadership to enforce, they should go no further than our points of unity right now. They aren't rules- they are what ARA is all about. In cases where some wannabe ARAs aren't cool with all of them (which include being against all forms of racism- anti immigration right up there) or where a member of some chapter is doing some kind of dirty to the network, they could be dealt with by the network, after internal discussion, maybe in the form of a letter from the network outlining the points of unity saying something like "Look, this is what ARA is about, and if you can't get with it, walk." I don't know exactly. Maybe I don't have all the vocabulary to get my point across clearly, all I'm trying to say is that ARA has done fine without a central leadership for years and the fact that it has grown so much without one is a big shout for the power of this kind of organizing. -molly b.

Josh from Columbus:

this san diego situation has me thinkin about regional and/or state caucuses that could help to do a bit of "quality control", if you will. also these caucuses would be beneficiery for new chapters starting up in places that fall in the caucus zones.
just a few thoughts.....josh columbus @r@/copw@tch

Micah Responds:

As anyone who is familiar with the Aryan Republican Army (ARA) knows it is not possible, or even perhaps beneficial, for us to make sure that no one else uses the initials ARA.

However I find your proposed solutions to problems like this to be problematic. If we run into a situation like this are we always going to rely on the goodness of chapters in ignoring another chapter. This brings up the potential of some group being dropped for personal reasons or something similar. Additionally what if some chapters don't decide to drop contact with that chapter?

Even if this is the method that the network decides to use, there needs to be some way to implement it. What do you propose? As it stands now we are unable to do much in the way of decision making.

A democratically elected central body would be able to reach decisions in a hurry when the situation called for it. Give the power of recall to members and chapters and we have a platform for making decisions that is at least as democratic as anything we have now. Presently the only real decision making mechanism we have between conferences is this list and it is hardly a way to reach democratic decisions for the entire network.

Perhaps a way to soothe fears about this potential body becoming too dictatorial is to give it only the power to interpret and act on what we

as a network decide at meetings like the one next month in Chicago. Under this design the central leadership would only make decisions in relation to what our points of unity say. For example what do our points of unity say about defense of immigrants or joining other coalitions which work with cops to prevents violence against fascists. To add clarity this body would be expected to issue its reasoning for reaching a decision and if members thought that this group had overstepped its bounds, they could recall certain (or all of the) members.

Because of the composition of the group it is best to avoid creating too much bureaucracy. Nevertheless it would be beneficial if we could speak as one voice on issues and work to prevent the distortion of our name.

Micah responds to Jamie (Jamie's text starts with "Jamie" -fancy, huh?):

Jamie: And who decides what the consistent stance is?

Well this leadership body would albeit, with the guidance of the entire network as we would need to clarify what our exact positions are on issues.

Jamie: Is it not possible for someone to be anti-immigrant but also anti-racist?

This would depend on the definition of an "anti-racist." There are people who could fight certain forms of racism or oppression but still hold anti-immigrant beliefs. However this is a faulty perspective as the oppression of immigrants is tied to all of the other forms of oppression under capitalism.

Jamie: My point is -- where do we draw the line, and who decides where the line is drawn? How flexible or fuzzy is the line?

We (the network not just those on the list) need to decide where the line is drawn. This will probably be difficult to do because we are certainly not going to reach an all around ideological consensus and issues such as animal rights could be hotly contested. The important question or issue rather to keep in mind is how we can effectively and fully combat racism, classism, sexism, hetrosexism, and other connected forms of oppression while at the same time gaining and keeping members.

Jamie: Do we admit nationalist right-wingers who are also anti-racist? What about pro-capitalism, pro-exploitation Libertarians who also want to fight bigotry? Do you see where I'm headed with this?

These questions will answer themselves once we figure out in more detail our ideological perspective. If we (as a group, I'm sure many of us already have for ourselves) decide that capitalism and racism are connected then we should not admit these people. As far as those that are knowingly pro-exploitation, I do not think that there is any question that they do not belong in ARA, but then again I could be wrong.

The thing that needs to be kept in mind is that ARA is probably not, nor should it because of reactionary politics, going to recruit everyone who fights racism in their workplace, school, or community. There will be some who work in different groups while others who will not join anything. We should invite these people to our demos and other events and when possible try to get them to join but not everyone is going to do it.

Fighting racism and being part of ARA are not mutually inclusive. Not

allowing someone to join ARA does not mean that they can not work for goals that are similar to ours. We should not encourage people to join our group if it comes at the expense of our principals.

Jamie responds:

Well, the only solution I really proposed was the "pass around a statement" thing. It's not a brilliant solution, but it sounds better than having to answer to a central authority, IMHO.

The problem with "democratic elections" is that they're not truly representative. In addition, not every chapter can afford to send a member to every regional or net-wide meeting. Not to mention the disparity between very large ARA groups and small, less-than-10-active-members groups. Is it fair to the large groups to give each chapter only one vote?

Except for the fact that the people who were outvoted are going to be extremely ticked off. What happens in case of a 40-60 voting split? Can we risk alienating 40% of our people?

Agreed. We definitely need to expand the mission statement in such a way that anti-immigrant yahoos won't feel welcome. At all.

I agree that capitalism exacerbates racism, but I'm not sure that capitalism is the sole cause of racism or vice versa. This is a very minor point of disagreement but it is exactly in these nooks and crannies of ideology that we are going to alienate or lose people.

Micah: Fighting racism and being part of ARA are not mutually inclusive. Not allowing someone to join ARA does not mean that they can not work for goals that are similar to ours. We should not encourage people to join our group if it comes at the expense of our principals.

I definitely agree with you here. But the real problem isn't keeping people out of our already-established chapters, but preventing people from starting up new chapters that aren't consistent with existing chapters, right? I mean, if this Purple Koolaid person wanted to join Detroit or Chill or Columbus or Louisville, we'd just flat out say no. But how do we stop her(?) or anybody else in another city from starting up their own chapter and, say, focusing exclusively on racism against blacks and Latinos while ignoring everything else?

By the way Micah, I'm not trying to debate you about this or anything. I just wanted to ask these questions and put them out into a public space. I don't know the answers either.

Micah responds to Molly:

Molly: Whether or not it's intended, forming a central leadership will take decisions made about the network farther away from representing the views of all chapters. I don't see anything done up by a governing body that can't be done up by open debate. I know it takes longer, but it's hyping the spirit of equal say which I think ARA should stay true to.

Possibly, but you have to ask yourself what type of a democracy we have now. Not everyone reads the bulletin, is on this list, and attends meetings like the one next month in Chicago. (And in the last case even if they did all the attend, they would not all be able to vote.)

Additionally there do come times when it would be beneficial for the network to reach a decision in a hurry. One example of this is the stance on the Grant Street action demo last April. I think that it would have been good if we as an entire network had been able to endorse or not endorse (my prefence) this event. The reason for this is that it would help in recruiting if people knew what we as a network stand for. We are, in many ways, competing with other groups such as NWROC, the Spartacist

League, and liberal moral testimony groups such as the Grant Street organizers for anti-fascist recruits. All of these groups at least stand for something on paper but do we if we can't decide whether "organizer guards" to keep demonstrators from the fascists are acceptable?

As a point of clarification, my statement about competition is not in any way a criticism of our principled stand of defending all anti-fascists. On a similar note, I do not mean to bash chapters that endorsed the Grant Street action as I know that in at least one chapter had second thoughts about their endorsement after finding out more about the demo.

Molly: As far as 'rules' that ARA needs a central leadership to enforce, they should go no further than our points of unity right now. They aren't rules- they are what ARA is all about.

We seem to be arguing over semantics here. The points of unity are in a way rules as ARA chapters agree with them and thus to abide by them as the part of your message reprinted below indicates.

Molly: In cases where some wannabe ARAs aren't cool with all of them (which include being against all forms of racism- anti immigration right up there) or where a member of some chapter is doing some kind of dirty to the network, they could be dealt with by the network, after internal discussion, maybe in the form of a letter from the network outlining the points of unity saying something like "Look, this is what ARA is about, and if you can't get with it, walk."

This would probably work but, as I expressed in a message to Abrupt, I am not that comfortable with a system that relies on no formal procedures. As I see it this opens the door for inconsistency and personal politics. (Not that those things could not happen with a central body but by having no leaders on paper while having them in actuality, these leaders gain strength on their own and not through the organization.)

Michael Novick:

I agree with Micah's general perspective here, but I think it emphasizes something I feel about this whole "central representative authority" question -- I think it's a question of the tail wagging the dog, or maybe the cart before the horse.

That is, the first thing is to define a little more clearly what the unity of ARA is politically, whether as a network, an organization or whatever. I'm not talking about endless political wrangling over Trotskyism, Maoism,etc etc, but about establishing a few tighter, and "binding" agreements about what the boundaries are within which we will continue to have many differences. This takes precedence in my opinion over coming up with a rule making structure, and in fact would help make an "enforcement" structure >>less<< necessary. In other words, if the whole world is clear about what ARA in particular is about (as compared to or distinct from other anti-racist groups), then it's a lot less likely that individuals or chapters will spring up with distinctly different views trying to pass off as ARA.

In that regard, i don't think direct confrontational action against open racist and neo-nazis is sufficient unity, because many people will be drawn in on that basis who may have many other retrograde positions -- anti-immigrant, anti-woman, anti-gay -- and who are resistant to self-criticism and self-examination, or to criticism of the system as a whole, by hiding behind opposition to Klansmen and nazis. On the other hand, many people who might be resolute and valuable anti-racists, but who are uncomfortable with or unready for sometimes-physical confrontations, may

feel excluded.

So I think we need to emphasize a broad anti-racist and anti-oppression politics, with an analysis of several key, "non-negotiable" points:

* that dealing with specific and open racist groups requires fundamental social, economic and political change to uproot the material conditions that produce such phenomena as the Klan and the nazi-boneheads;
*that dealing with the criminal injustice system -- cops, courts, prisons -- is as high a priority as dealing with hoods and swastikas;
*and that anti-racists need to oppose all forms of oppression -- especially sexism, homophobia, class/elitism, and colonialism.

With that level of unity, there's room for differences and disagreements about anarchism vs, socialism vs. trotskyism, maoism, etc, and room for people to get involved whose political and economic views may not be clear or well-formulated.

These points would be in addition to current principles about direct action, not relying on the cops, etc. But if our definition and unity is strengthened in this way, it would tend to help us get us over the personality conflicts and sterile ideolgical debates/backbiting that drive newer people away. It would also provide a basis for setting up a structure of delegates, regional caucuses, whatever that was mostly about administration and coordination and not about power trips or rule making.

Micah:

I guess this just comes down to one's personal opinion. For me having a structure to work through these problems is better than making it up as you go along.

Jamie: The problem with "democratic elections" is that they're not truly representative. In addition, not every chapter can afford to send a member to every regional or net-wide meeting. Not to mention the disparity between very large ARA groups and small, less-than-10-active-members groups. Is it fair to the large groups to give each chapter only one vote?

But that is what we have now. I doubt every chapter will be in Chicago next month and those who are will get two delegates no matter what their size. In the initial message I addressed these problems but as of right now it is the best we have.

Another point worth mentioning is that chapter and national conferences would still occur and have the form that they do now. This leadership body would only make decisions between meetings and would likely take on more of an interpretive/coordinating role than a principle making one.

We can not avoid political disputes but pretending that they do not exist. Already we run this risk with the informal decisions that we make. Creating a formal method to deal with disputes is unlikely to exacerbate this danger and might even lessen it if the minority side believes that it was given a fair opportunity to present its ideas to the entire network.

If we are going to take strong stands we need to accept the fact that we will lose people along the way. We probably already lose people in our belief that violence against fascists is valid and justified.

Jamie: I definitely agree with you here. But the real problem isn't keeping people out of our already-established chapters, but preventing people from starting up new chapters that aren't consistent with existing chapters, right?

While I believe that chapter should not limit themselves, the problem is not with focusing exclusively on the oppression of one group but with taking

reactionary stands on other issues.

Jamie: By the way Micah, I'm not trying to debate you about this or anything. I just wanted to ask these questions and put them out into a public space. I don't know the answers either.

This is an important point to keep in my mind with all discussions on this list. Despite our political differences we do have a lot in common.

Jamie:

Personally, I feel that the establishment of a governing body is anathema to the things that drew me to ARA in the first place. When I first encountered ARA material, it seemed so refreshingly free of militant ideological clutter. It was political without being didactic or orthodox. It was action-oriented and bureaucracy-free. There was no long hierarchical list of ARA office-holders in ARA News. In short, there was plenty of information, reports and appeals for action and *very little* ideological lecturing. ARA News let the news clippings and photographs speak for themselves.

Already our ideological clashes on this very email list have turned off several people. Liz from ARA Louisville withdrew from the list a couple of days ago -- specifically because of all the arguments that take place here. Think how much more alienating such clashes will be when they are between members of a central governing body and therefore the chapters that they represent!

ARA has problems -- there is no doubt about that. From hopeful wannabes in San Diego to rogue member problems to internecine chapter fights to chapters splitting in half (Tulsa ARA), we have quite a few structural problems that must be resolved. I really don't know the answer to this, Micah. We definitely need a reliable method of solving our problems, pulling the chapters together and so on, but whenever the concepts of caucuses and elections and central governing bodies come up, I just get the cold shivers.

How about this -- what if our "central governing body" had no proactive power? In other words, the CGB could rule on current disputes, relay messages from one chapter to the whole network, help coordinate network-wide votes, and so forth, but could not actually lay down rules on its own? Some kind of council or convened-when-needed group consisting of representatives from as many chapters as possible, existing only to resolve disputes, facilitate communications, coordinate our endorsements and stands on issues, and so forth?

This is all pretty confusing. When I joined ARA I never thought I'd get wrapped up in discussions like this.

Ben from Kent, OH responds:

Jamie: Personally, I feel that any central leadership structure must acknowledge the autonomy of not only local ARA chapters but also individual ARA members. Any centralized "leadership" should assume more of an organizating/coordinating role and not an authoritative "enforcing the ARA rules" type role.

I agree on this wholly. For instance I do most of the organizing stuff here, primarily because I am one of the few in this chapter that have followed ARA for more than a few months and have more of a handle on what it has worked on in the past few years and most other people surrender the floor to me on these ground (keep in mind though that, like at our last meeting, I urge and encourage anyone to take the floor from me -- I don't want it, frankly, but someone has to bring stuff into the meetings to talk about and only few times

has anyone else -- until our last meeting, when we had several people talk about proposals and stuff - it was great, and I made sure to prod people to keep it up and that that is what we need to be successful).

We don't need a person, a group of people, or whatever "enforcing ARA rules," but rather a more specific set of principles saying what ARA is about. For instance, if the principles had a specific stance on immigration, I would've been able to just say to Prplkolaid (from San Diego) that "well, according to _____ you are in direct opposition to what ARA stands for." Right now, we have that, sort of, it's just unstated, and only understood by those who have at least some history with ARA. We all know pretty much what these specifics are, we know what we have been fighting for and against, it's just not stated specifically. Maybe that's where we need to start -- and finish!

Michael Novick: That is, the first thing is to define a little more clearly what the unity of ARA is politically, whether as a network, an organization or whatever...In other words, if the whole world is clear about what ARA in particular is about (as compared to or distinct from other anti-racist groups), then it's a lot less likely that individuals or chapters will spring up with distinctly different views trying to pass off as ARA.

I'd like to second this. This pretty much captures what I think about this, and I'd like to open this up as a proposed solution to be voted on on this list and we can expand the debate from there if it is accepted. If not, we can continue further.

I have never agreed more with Abrupt on anything than I do. This captures my sentiments surrounding this debate more than anything could. For instance, Mark from ARA-Kent has been involved in organizations all over the country for years, from lobbying groups, educational groups, grass roots-level organizing, etc. I hate to speak for him, but I think the main reason he's in ARA now is because a) we're ANTI- racist rather than NON-racist, and we're ACTIVE (as opposed to being a social circle where people talk about how nasty oppression is), b) there is no hierarchical structure. That's why I'm here too.

Mark and I both study social movements, and know a bit about the histories of other groups. We don't claim to be experts, but we've talked to people who are as close to being experts as anyone else. Nothing teaches us better than history. It has been shown again and again that hierarchy can tear apart organizations similar to ARA. If we are fighting for equality, don't you find it counter-productive in the least to not even be able to build a model for equality among people who couldn't agree more than anyone else? I think if we can't find a way to remedy these problems without creating a bureaucratic structure, we have ultimately failed. If we can't do it in our own organization, how could we ever do it in our nations?

Of course, this is partly my own personal politics weighing into this. I'm oriented somewhere on the anarchist spectrum, so I'm sure there are some communists or other people with rather different politics than those I have who believe in a much more regimented and bureaucratic structure than I, but when you look at some of the things that have torn apart revolutionary and militant movements, it always seems to be related to the establishment of a hierarchical structure within the organization.

Jamie: How about this -- what if our "central governing body" had no proactive power?

I reply: That's pretty much what we have now. I will elaborate on this shortly, but I think you're right on the part about proactive power. I think what needs to be done is we need to (democratically, somehow) determine

(using the 4 principles) and outline more specifically what ARA is all about ó pin down specific issues such as: we are against all forms of racism including discrimination of immigrants and the establishment of criteria to which legal/illegal immigration is determined. Something like that... Anyway, more later.

Yes, we need more unification on the national level. BUT, I don't think this should be through a central body. That, at best, would be representative democracy, which I think everyone on this list, as well as myself, thinks is a futile attempt to replace direct democracy which ends up creating a massive displacement in power. This would crush the (non-)structure and radically democratic power balance we now have.

What we need, I think, is more unified and specific set of principles. I suggest we stick to the four principles and clear up their vagueness. Qualify them, explain them, pin down specific issues - AND do so as democratically as possible. I believe very much in the Afrikan traditions of respecting our elders' advice on this ó in this case, not in terms of age, but in terms of who's been working with ARA for either a long time or most actively. Not that they should have more say than the rest of us, but people like Mac should take a very instrumental role in these debates.

Micah: A democratically elected central body would be able to reach decisions in a hurry when the situation called for it. Give the power of recall to members and chapters and we have a platform for making decisions that is at least as democratic as anything we have now.

I am totally against this. Representative democracy has never worked and will never work. Do we really want to turn ARA's model for government into the Constitution of the U.S.?

Well, if we are alienating 40% of people because, for instance, they are not willing to defend the rights of illegal immigrants or something that may be part of the (proposed) new set of unifying statements of ARA, then let them go because they are in direct conflict with ARA. BUT, if we are alienating 40% of people because of something that isn't in the proposed statements, then it's an issue that we really shouldn't be making definitive decisions about at a national (or even chapter) level -- for instance proposals for a post-revolutionary economic system, or something like that (do you see how silly making such decisions at this stage of the game are?).

Micah responds to Jamie and Ben:

Jamie: How about this -- what if our "central governing body" had no proactive power?

I could go for this. In fact this is more or less what I envision because of the political diversity of our organization. My intention has never been to create a dominant group that laid down the law to all chapters with no recourse. I think that if you go back and look at my messages you will see that I never came out in favor of such a group. Perhaps my wording was not clear.

Having said that, I think that you and others may be under a faulty conception that such a group would be controversy free. If it comes into existence it would likely have to make difficult choices that may upset members.

Ben: I hate to speak for him, but I think the main reason he's in ARA now is because a) we're ANTI- racist rather than NON- racist, and we're ACTIVE (as opposed to being a social circle where people talk about how nasty oppression is), b) there is no hierarchical structure. That's why I'm here too.

But hierarchy does exist! It does not benefit us to pretend that it doesn't. By your own admission (in another message) you play a extra large role in your chapter's activities. Now your reasons for this are understandable but nonetheless it is a form of hierarchy. Additionally, in another message, you stated your belief in having those with the most experience lead the debate in ARA. This is again hierarchy.

Now neither of these things are wrong or even bad as they best fit the nature of the situation. But I feel that there exists a great danger in not having these roles be tied to a specific position. As I see it, this increases the risk of personality cults being formed and new members never taking a more active role or respecting the leadership or ideas of a newer person when they clash with those who have been in ARA for a long time.

I do not mean this to say that Ben's chapter operates this way. I have not met Ben face to face nor intended a Kent meeting. But this danger I feel exists even when individuals have the best intentions.

Michael Novick:

Although I feel that the first and principal issue is still for ARA to define itself more sharply than it has, in the way i suggested in a previous post, I also agree with Micah here that not having a formal structure is no protection against hierarchy. PART has had a fluid membership over the years, and I play the inordinate role that Micah describes because I'm the guy who sticks with it as others come and go. This is a big weakness. Part of my excitement about ARA is because it seems to be building enough of an activist membership to make meaningful structure possible and necessary -- and therefore meaningful capacity to integrate new people at varying levels of commitment and bring them along and into "leadership," greater levels of activity, higher degrees of commitment, whatever you want to call it.

I know that Ben in ARA Kent has been doing a lot reading on feminism, and I suggest he and others look back to some of the history of the women's movement in the 1970's, in particular the critiques that focused on the tyrrany of structurelessness, and the tendency of amorphously structured groups to be dominated by a few highly articulate, often economically and educationally-privileged (and white) folks -- and this was as true in the women's movement as in the wider new left. There is a big big political space between democratic centralism and do-your-own-thing, and this is a big contribution that ARA, which a burgeoning mass organization in a period that hasn't seen such activism for a good long while.

I don't have an exact formal structure to propose, but I think a variety of national committees working on aspects of ARA's program, proposing joint national campaigns on a pro-active basis -- rather than simply responding to the latest atrocity or appearance by the KKK -- would be one starting place. Maybe rotating working groups on the newsletter and the ARA news. A coordinating committee to work up a proposal for "chartering" new chapters and a method for security-vetting, in a non-obnoxious way -- prospective organizers. A national grouping that took responsibility for fund-raising, enabling ARA nationally to have some paid staff to do travel -- the way SDS did in the 60's -- would be great. None of these require the hierarchical methods people rightly fear will strangle ARA's spontaneous growth and anti-authoritatrian strengths, but they would begin to apply some of the positive, desirable advantages of stronger organization to strengthen and clarify our efforts.

Micah:

Defining our principles more carefully would do a lot to solve this problem as Ben and Michael have pointed out in other posts. But it should be kept in mind that there will always exist grey areas which will need to

be defined and sometimes in a hurry. We have seen this with our current four points of unity and we will see it no matter how specific we get in our principles.

Mark from Kent responds:

I agree. As much as the "ideal" of a social movement be without a structure of hierarchy, studies show that SMO's with a structure outlast those without one. As I see it, we've been lucky in that there is a sense of mutual respect for each other in ARA as well as for those who are the experienced "elders" (not age, but expr.). Ben is undoubtedly the "pro" in regards to ARA-Kent, and it would not only be a matter of disrespect to NOT learn from him, but also stupidity. In _The Strategy of Social Protest_, William Gamson (1990) looks at "Combat Readiness" in relation to the organizational pattern of SMOs. If anyone wants a copy, send me an e-mail and I'll snail it.

Ben:

Personality cults exist with and without formal, institutionally based positions. BUT, with those positions, not only are there personality cults but also "parties" or political camps that aim to place a representative in that position.

Again, the main point in this was not to be leaders, but to keep things focused on the real issues. In the case you bring up, white upper middle class women were dominating things because the movement was still so much of a part of the culture that it retained the same classist and racist attitudes -- or at least an ambivilence that led to most people being so wrapped up in their own selfish concerns that they blinded themselves from the goals of the movement as a whole.

Michael Novick: I don't have an exact formal structure to propose, but I think a variety of national committees working on aspects of ARA's program, proposing joint national campaigns on a pro-active basis -- rather than simply responding, [etc...]

You bring up some great points. I've been toying with some ideas like this. I'm going to really brainstorm on this stuff and will write up some initial ideas and print it out to go to Chicago for the delegates meeting in my place.

As long as "positions of organization" are what we're creating, then I'll be a little more open to considering this. If what we are establishing is, basically a position where a person or a body of people can stand up on the stage next to a blackboard with the principles written on it with big pointers to keep the audience in check by smacking their pointers on the board thus reminding the audience what they're supposed to be doing when they aren't (figuratively speaking, of course), then that's fine. That's basically creating a structure that recognizes the same authority that is already there in the hands of the organizers.

In the example you mentioned before, it was necessary for, say, Black women or lesbians to keep the straight white women from turning the *women's* movement from becoming shortsighted, no more than a stepping stone for white women to use that no one else dare tread on. The way this relates to ARA is that we need to specify formally what we are about and keep reminding people of that. If this proposed structure or hierarchy solely serves the purpose of keeping people focused, then I'm cool with that -- we just need to realize that we're walking on eggshells with this, especially when we're dealing with ARA.

I can't believe we're debating this, really. I'm in as much awe as Abrupt was in initially. I was the one who was amazed that we were even

discussing forming caucuses at the last conference and now this.. Eggshells, I tell ya... eggshells.

Jamie:

Micah: I could go for this. In fact this is more or less what I envision because of the political diversity of our organization....Perhaps my wording >was not clear.

No, your wording was pretty clear, I think. I've been guilty of jumping ahead in the discussion. While you were talking about the feasibility of centralized organization, I had skipped ahead to nightmare scenarios of an authoritarian ruling council. I tend to think of the worst, usually because it helps me prepare for the worst. Sorry!

Of course it wouldn't be controversy-free. Take the Tulsa ARA example. This judiciary council (for lack of a better term) might be asked to rule in the case of the Tulsa chapter's division. Which side would get to keep the ARA name? Whoever loses will be upset, of course, but hopefully not too upset. I wish we could just create a kind of well-respected Council of Elders that would hand down very wise and well-thought-out rulings that everybody would respect regardless of results, but that sort of thing just isn't possible, at least without hundreds of years of trial and error, tradition and history. However, I do think that a proactive body would be more controversial than a representative group that made decisions only when asked to.

I really think that any central body (comprised of delegates) should exist only to serve ARANET and to facilitate inter-chapter activities and decisions. When I say "serve" I mean literally serve; the central body should never hand down decisions from above, ever. It should merely be a clearinghouse for chapter information. Perhaps such a central body could take over publication of ARA News; or better still, come up with a new ARANET publication. With the technologies of Internet, fax, phone, and FedEx, there isn't any reason why at least one person from every chapter couldn't contribute something to a national newsletter. This would take some of the burden off Columbus. Just a thought.

In the case of San Diego, I really think that sending a letter that reiterated ARA's principles and was signed by delegates from every ARA chapter should be sufficient to discourage any do-gooder, half-witted quasi-liberals from adopting the ARA name. What other option do we really have?

Ben's situation in ARA Kent is similar to mine in ARA Louisville. There is a hierarchy of experience, but I don't WANT there to be such a hierarchy! Just today at our meeting, I proposed that we create (1) formal offices with formal responsibilities, such as treasurer; and (2) a formal method of accepting new members. The offices would be rotating positions and the acceptance procedure would involve all current members. As it is now, a handful of people (2 or 3) handle almost ALL of the responsibilities for ARA Louisville. Power and responsibility are concentrated in the hands of far too few for my tastes. I'm hoping to spread the responsibilities and power out amongst all our active members so that everybody feels part of the process and nobody feels that they must obey the "leader(s)" or whatever.

I think there will always be a sort of superiority enjoyed by the more experienced, the more articulate, and the more intelligent within any given democratic group simply because those people can express their ideas better and thus are more likely to have their ideas accepted. I do not think that such a thing is avoidable. Perhaps it is a form of hierarchy, perhaps not. At any rate it is completely inevitable, and although this particular form of hierarchy is unavoidable it does *NOT* mean that all forms of hierarchy

are inevitable and therefore acceptable.

Jason from Detroit:

greetings all in the aranet computer world,
  jason here from detroit ara. sitting back and watching all of the discussion about centralized governing bodies, etc. just wanted to resubmit one of the porposals that i had written for the last bulletin and i hope will be discussed in chicago.
[The formation of rotating (yearly) continental/international office proposal was quoted here, but in the interests of brevity, you can look it up.--gigi]

Micah responds to Ben:

Ben: Personality cults exist with and without formal, institutionally based positions. BUT, with those positions, not only are there personality cults but also "parties" or political camps that aim to place a representative in that position.

Yes but "parties" and camps ideally work against personality cults because they are (or should be at least) centered around ideas and not an individual or group of individuals.
      Yes these parties can be centered around personalities but you will, in effect, get that without a structure. However the idea driven groupings are less likely to form if their is not a specific purpose for them, such as being able to compete in a formal arena of ideas.

Jamie:

Personally I am opposed to the idea of passing around the responsibility for producing the newsletter from chapter to chapter to chapter simply because some chapters are very well equipped to handle such responsibilities; most are not. I'm not prepared to suggest an alternative; although perhaps we could organize a seasonal (four times a year) publication with contributions from all over ARANET that would be put together by a dedicated committee of rotating membership selected at each year's conference. Or something. It would be up to the committee to decide how to put the newsletter together -- i.e. spend a week together in one city doing the layout work, or do all of the layout electronically, or individual committee members accepting responsibility for various parts of the newsletter, etc.

Ben:

Jamie: I think there will always be a sort of superiority enjoyed by the more experienced, the more articulate, and the more intelligent within any given democratic group, [etc...]

Very good point. Many people have suggested that "because this kind of informal (and inevitable) hierarchy exists, well, we may as well just establish a nice centralized bureaucracy -- besides, it's the same thing, right?!" (sarcasm intended)
      That is an err in logic, first of all, and I think it shows that our socialization has taught us (brainwashed us?) into thinking that we can not opperate under direct democracy. If we don't challenge these notions, we're going to see things becoming very formalized, centralized, and *stratified* within ARA, and as soon as that happens, we've alienated about 90% of our most active and supportive members (my guess). Like Abrupt said, I wouldn't have joined ARA if when I receive my first copy of ARA News it had a listing of national and regional chairs --- and I would feel safe saying that the day I do open up ARA News and see that it would be a very depressing day. Like I

said before, if our own movement cannot operate democratically and without differences in formal, institutional power then we'll never be able to create a society that operates that way. If we want to create a society where equality exists and everything is organized from the bottom up (do we?) then if we have an organization where there is formal authority (and thus inequality among members) and everything is organized from the top down, then we have proven that we can't even follow our own example. Maybe this is just me -- does anyone else agree with this?

Audrey, Ann Arbor ARA:

Thank you for this response. As an older member (about twice as old as most college age members) I found this perspective to be very accurate. Hierarchy and bureaucracy as tools of organization ultimately lend themselves to all that is wrong with capitalist-modeled projects of any kind.

Not least of all as a woman of color, the issue of gender control becomes relevant. After nearly 25 years of involvement in one kind organization or another, my strong initial response is to do whatever necessary to retain the focus on achieving RESULTS, not aimless RHETORIC as an organization.

The obvious elements of lack of maturity and evolving roles at the helm of debate over various chapters interpretations and individual actions does raise my personal level of annoyance. However, the debate itself is certainly one that will help to responsibly define roles, organizational purpose, and help people to grow in mature responses to concerns over issues.

As a current non-student, issues of racism, sexism, and class division are events that have a very real presence in my life daily. As a parent of children who will become involuntarily enmeshed in these issues, I look forward to directing them to GENUINE antiracism groups that will be a resource. With all due respect to the energy and current concerns of those who support "structure", I will venture to establish that "structure without common sense is the surest path to sameness". This means that developing a structure of any kind without the ability to remember that individuals give structures their definitions and as such, individuals are susceptible to error ALWAYS in the arena of decisionmaking creates an environment where human error becomes the great "unequalizer". Point in case, majority rule (by white capitalist structures) is what creates and maintains racism and sexism as a global phenomena.

A guiding set of principles may be the most useful starting point. Individual chapters which find their unique community concerns may or cannot adhere to the guiding principles should be able to examine this through extended dialogue (much like the Tulsa event) and evaluated one all the information is aired and exchanged. Oppressed people's daily lives are immimently affected by NIMBY or other EXCLUSIVE oriented initiatives. A GENUINE antiracist movement should not be interested in maintaining any atmosphere of exclusiveness in any aspect of its operations. Create, clarify, and commit. These 3 elements may be a good starting point to guiding principles.

Just a few thoughts.

Gigi responds (and appologizes for snottiness):

Hey, I've been kinda following this debate, but I have a life outside the internet, and can't/don't have the desire to read 30 messages a day about ARA structure, no offense. However, what y'all are talking about in essence, I *think*, is that we need to be able to make quick decisions (like endorsing or not endorsing the Grant st. protest) and be able to communicate better. Well, the delegate body as proposed by Mpls ARA in the structure that passed at the last conference was intended to do that. The reason we are having this delegates meeting in Chicago is (hopefully) not because we think we're

supposed to, or because we all like hanging out together, but because we need to figure some stuff like this out. Like if we need to talk about making an endorsement, how will everyone be contacted? Maybe the delegates could pass around their phone numbers, and whoever finds out about a protest can call everyone. Wow, that's simple--no need for central leadership here, right???

Someone said some people aren't on email or don't read the Bulletin. Well:

1. Email is not accessible. Thus, no network decisions should ever be made over email except those that affect email (like booting people off the list, etc.), unless the delegates have email, and instead of passing around phone numbers, you pass around email adresses...
2. If you don't read the Bulletin, start! It was created so we can communicate. If you or a chapter you know of is not on the mailing list, then tell us! If the person who picks up your mail doesn't share it, well stop letting them pick up the mail! The Bulletin is intended to be photocopied by each chapter so EACH member can read it. If you decide not to read it, then that's your decision. I don't agree that if people aren't reading the Bulletin, then we need central leadership. (Maybe if it turns out that people don't get to read the Bulletin due to some internal hierarchies in their chapter, it may need to get sent to individual addresses, but at this point we don't have the $$)

As far as making sure we don't allow people like the person in San Diego to form a chapter... well, I can't say that I totally agree with the politics of a lot of the chapters that *DO* exist. I think that by expanding our points of unity a *bit* we might be able to avoid the creation of chapters that we don't agree with, but I'd rather avoid making a larger statment like the one Micah proposed. It's cumbersome, and we're going to have a lot of disagreements. I guess I think shorter, simpler, and broader is better.

Molly:

Yes! Thank you, that was what I was tryin to say before. If people had spent as much time talking about ways to strengthen internal communication as they have about debating central leadership, ARA would be flowin better already. I've seen some ideas for keeping tighter with all ARAs up on this net biz- they need to be sent to the bulletin. Right now, that's the best thing we got. Let's work through it- that's what it's for.

ARA Reader

- support dineh defense of sacred land
  big mountain elders cry for help
- the people's police report
- reclaiming america for christ
  from *freedom writer magazine*
- police raid skinhead record firm

ANTI-FASCIST ACTIONS

Support Dineh Defense of Sacred Land

BY MEDIA ISLAND INTERNATIONAL

The largest forced relocation of Indian people in the 20th Century has been underway in northeastern Arizona for nearly 20 years. Congress passed Public Law 93-531 in 1974, which authorized this relocation, after the OPEC oil embargo pushed the US and multinational corporations towards "energy independence." Over 14,000 traditional Dineh (Navajo) people have been severely impacted by this law enacted with virtually no public discourse. The largest coal field in North America sits under Black Mesa, an area where the Dineh people have resided for hundreds of years. Uranium and oil shale further the resource wealth of this land sacred to both Dineh and Hopi people. One-hundred Hopi and over 10,000 Dineh were relocated, destroying their self-sufficient lifestyle. The 3,000 people remaining on the land are resisting relocation; many have vowed to leave only when dead.

These Dineh sheep died after drinking from a spring near a Peabody mine.

Currently, Dineh resisters have been told that if they do not sign an "Accommodation Agreement" by April 1, 1997, they will face Bureau of Indian Affairs paramilitary police and US Marshals. The agreement is a shameless compromise allowing elders to remain on three acres with one horse, one cow, one sheep and one goat for 75 years, not to be passed on to their children.

On July 6, 1986, the Dineh faced a similar threat, and had prepared for the National Guard to move in against them. Hundreds of supporters were present to witness the spiritual stand of Dineh elders and their children. Although force was not used to remove them, a policy of slow motion, low intensity warfare was enacted using fighter jets, Hughes Apache helicopters, BIA livestock impoundment crews, tool and firewood confiscation and other means of torturing Dineh resister families. Thousands of Dineh, worn down by harassment, starvation conditions and loss of traditional survival means, were placed in cluster housing tracks.

One of the most notorious tracts is known as the "New Lands." It was the site of the largest nuclear spill in US history in 1979 when 97-million gallons of highly radioactive waste broke through United Nuclear's Churchrock dam and contaminated the Rio Puerco River. The radioactive water source has induced chronic illnesses and birth defects. Many other relocatees have died of broken hearts or suicide and others are homeless.

The stand at Big Mountain and the other resisting communities is a spiritual, nonviolent one based within the teachings of the Dineh. The Creator has instructed them to remain within the four sacred mountains where they were born and where their umbilical cords are buried. The entire culture is centered around ceremony and daily life reflects this. Dineh resisters say they obey the laws of the Creator and not those of the white man. Sarah Begay, Dineh elder and resister from the start, said to the Navajo Tribal Council, "The appearance of the Dineh deities and the message that they gave to us make it clear that we must stay on The Land. This is our identity as Dineh. Without The Land, we are no longer The People."

The spiritual practices have kept resisters strong, but laws passed by the US government-backed Hopi Tribal Council (both Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils were established by the Feds) are destroying shrines, burial sites and herb-gathering areas in the name of economic development.

Peabody Coal is the main perpetrator of destruction, giving a fraction of the profits to the Tribal Councils that sanctioned the largest coal strip mine in North America. Grave sites have been destroyed, water contaminated, sheep killed and air polluted since Peabody began operations in the 1960s. Though a recent permit challenge succeeded for the first time in forcing Peabody to be accountable to this genocidal disregard for traditional residents, it was overturned, leaving the mining operations uninterrupted.

This major atrocity must be halted with unprecedented actions of support on the part of white activists who comprehend the nature of this genocide. In this racist war zone, anyone who is not dark skinned has a level of protection that can be utilized as conscience necessitates.

One of the most immediate needs for Dineh resisters in this remote area of northeastern Arizona is for sheepherders to graze their sheep and protect them from BIA impoundment crews who target Dineh refusing to sign the Accommodation Agreement. Activists who can walk 15 to 20 miles a day with the sheep, live self-sufficiently in high desert conditions, have a deep concept of cultural sensitivity, awareness of racism and a willingness to forego alcohol are of utmost value. It would be most helpful to have as many such people as possible before February 10 so that Dineh elders will be free to travel to the Federal Court House in Phoenix for a so-called "Fairness Hearing." This is also an opportunity to get a firsthand feel for the land and the urgency of this situation. Cameras and recorders to document harassment are crucial as well.

It is vital at this time for people to become aware of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in their areas and begin a dialogue that shows the government the Dineh are not alone in their struggle to defend Sacred Land. These dialogues would be followed by lockdowns and occupations if force is deployed against the Dineh. What could emerge would be the most visible, solidified force of white Americans of conscience to ever emerge in support of indigenous people in the sad history of colonization. Those considering confronting the BIA are being asked to behave in an absolutely peaceful, respectful way, reflecting the spiritual stand Dineh elders have taken. Anyone who is willing to risk arrest must have witnesses and a solid support system. Document what you do.

Support groups for the Dineh resisters are being revived across the country. Hook up with them in your communities or form one yourself. Those coming to the land should bring food, warm clothing, tents, sleeping bags, mud-boots, small four-wheel-drive pickup trucks and radio gear. Please contact one of the following to become more informed: Sovereign Dineh Nation—Dineh Alliance, POB 2889, Window Rock, AZ 86515; (505) 371 5551; or Media Island International, POB 7204, Olympia, WA 98507; phone/fax (360) 352 8526; e-mail mii@olywa.net.

09

BIG MOUNTAIN ELDERS CRY FOR HELP

What is going on right now?
On February 11-14, 1997 in Phoenix, Arizona "fairness hearings" were conducted before Judge Earl H. Carroll, federal judge of the U.S. District Court for the district of Arizona. This was the last opportunity for the HPL residents to testify in court concerning their objections to the settlement of the Manybeads case. The objectors strongly feel that the Settlement/Accommodation Agreement still impinges upon their First Amendment rights as well as their ability to continue their traditional way of life.

How did it get to this point?
This is a complicated issue, but it boils down to this: forcibly removing people from their ancestral sacred land in order to mine coal, estimated to be worth billions of dollars. What we have here are powerful mineral corporations and the Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils*, in collusion with the Federal Government, accepting payments to ignore the genocide of a people.

Who are the Big Mountain and Black Mesa resistors?
The "resistors" are traditional Dinch (Navajo) people, many of whom are non-English speaking elders. They are self-sustaining, supporting themselves by herding sheep and cattle, weaving and dry-crop farming while caretaking their Sacred Land. They have earned the name "resistor" from steadfastly refusing forced relocation by the Federal Government, Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils and energy corporations.

Where is Big Mountain and the Black Mesa?
In northeast Arizona, approximately 3 hours north of Flagstaff, lies Black Mesa, with Big Mountain to the south. Big Mountain is the best known of the 45 Dinch (Navajo) communities. These communities are surrounded by four mountain peaks immemorially held sacred by Dinch. Even if allowed to stay, under the current agreement the traditional people will likely find their small plots of land surrounded by mines.

What happens if they don't relocate or sign the Agreement?
Forced eviction.

What are the effects of the 75-year lease (the Accommodation Agreement)?
If they, the residents of the Hopi Partition Land (HPL), sign the Agreement, they are allowed to inhabit their ancestral land for just 75 years. During that time, they lose their civil and First Amendment rights and face a life under martial law. The overwhelming majority refuse to sign this lease. They know that if they sign, their children lose the rights to the land and mining will commence unchecked.

Where will they be relocated to?
In 1980, Congress approved the purchase of a total of 400,000 acres of land as the primary relocation site. This land, called "New Lands", is located on the Rio Puerco, downstream from Church Rock, NM, the site of the largest radioactive spill in this nation's history (1979). Money from Congress, taxpayers' dollars, were used to purchase the knowingly uranium contaminated "New Lands".

Who will enforce the relocation?
The Hopi Rangers and Federal Marshals. The Rangers are a police force equipped with state-of-the-art weaponry. They are under the mandate of the Hopi Tribal Council and the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Over the years, harassment has been stepped up by order of the Hopi Tribal Council.

Is this an intertribal land dispute?
No. That has always been a lie created by the Federal Government and the mining interests. The Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils are on the same side of the issue as the Federal Government...in opposition to the Hopi and Dinch traditional people.

*The Hopi and Navajo Tribal Councils do not necessarily represent traditional interests.

On the anniversary of the Longest Walk, when hundreds of Navajo died as they were force-marched away from their homelands in the winter of 1864, not to return until the treaty of 1868....

On the eve of US Secretary of State Madelyn Allbright's pronouncement of human rights evaluations worldwide, many traditional Dineh (Navajo) people of Northern Arizona face forced relocation from their ancestral homelands to make way for the largest coal mine in North America....

On Columbus Day Eve, October 11, 1996, President Clinton signed into law S.1973, "The Navajo - Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996" as P.L. 104-301. This law purports to be the FINAL SOLUTION to 100 years of struggle between the United States Government, Navajo and Hopi Tribal Councils, energy consortiums (Peabody Coal predominating) and traditional Hopi and Dineh.

These Dineh, "the people" as they call themselves, have become well known to the world as Relocation Resistors for their enduring refusal to accept forced relocation from their ancestral lands. In 1974, with the passage of the infamous "Relocation Act", (P.L. 93-531) 10,000 Dineh and 100 Hopi found themselves on the wrong side of a government-erected fence. They were forced from land they had inhabited for many centuries into a totally foreign world. Despair has taken its toll: today 4,000 of the original relocatees are dead.

Many Dineh have been relocated to the "New Lands" near Sanders, AZ., south of I-40 on the New Mexico - Arizona border. The Rio Puerco River, which flows through the "New Lands" was heavily contaminated in 1979 by the worst radioactive spill in U.S. history. In 1980, the US used tax dollars to purchase this land.

Those Dineh who have already relocated to the "New Lands" have been forced to live in substandard tract housing in an area the government knew was heavily contaminated. Birth defects and radiation poisoning have plagued the relocatees for years, along with all the social problems that can be expected when a land-based people are removed from everything safe and familiar. Before relocation, the Dineh were completely self-sufficient. Now, the US has created another 10,000 welfare cases, another 10,000 statistics.

From February 11th through the 14th, 1997 in Phoenix, Arizona, a "Fairness Hearing" was held to determine if the Accommodation Agreement is a "fair" settlement of religious issues brought before the 9th District Court in the Manybeads case. Justice Earl Carroll, who has a long record of refusing Indian claims to the same constitutional rights that all Americans are meant to enjoy, presided. He will also decide if his ruling will be enforced on all 2000 residents of the HPL, not just the 47 named plaintiffs. His decision will be handed down within the next few weeks.

If the decision goes against them, the Dineh resistors will have few options: accept relocation, sign the restrictive Accommodation Agreement, or be relocated by force. If the Dineh move off the land passed down to them by their ancestors, they will lose their connection with Creator, along with their traditional lifestyle and religion. Employment opportunities in the New Lands are non-existant. Helpless in an unfamiliar world in which everything that was free now has a price, many relocatees have already lost their homes. Every day, more die: of illness-there is no money to treat, of starvation, of despair.

On January 9th 1997, the Hopi Tribal Council, publicly stated that "the settlement agreement is now final". On March 31, 1997 forced eviction will begin.

"There is no word for relocation in the Dineh language. Relocation means to go away and never be seen again."

BIG MOUNTAIN SUPPORT

TWIN CITIES-DINEH DEFENSE ALLIANCE

May 1997

FROM MINNESOTA TO BIG MOUNTAIN

In an ongoing tradition of Twin Cities Big Mountain support, two truckloads of food, supplies & equipment left Minneapolis April 9th, in a caravan to Arizona. The supplies included food, wood cutting tools, CB radios, camping equipment and a computer gathered in the Twin Cities since February.

Three of the supporters in the caravan have remained on the Hopi Partitioned Land (HPL) since then, providing direct support through sheepherding, transport, well digging and more.

"Its been so inspiring to see those grandmas out there on their land, but not a moment goes by without a certain ominous feeling," says Sarah G. a Minneapolis activist down in Arizona.

I'm having a difficult time picturing myself leaving, people truly are needed down here! This whole trip has redefined my role in Minneapolis."

With forced evictions happening as soon as June, people are desperately needed to provide land support.

Support includes: office work in Arizona; delivering supplies; communications, and aid on the reservation; witnesses for peace, documenting and videotaping harassment of Elders and Resistors; sheepherding and farming; action support.

It is important to plan on spending at least a month for direct support of camping and sheepherding on the land.

Those who can commit less that a month may find it useful to do office support in Flagstaff, and even people who are merely passing through Arizona can be helpful in delivering supplies accumulating in Minneapolis, at the time of this newsletter we have almost 800lbs of dry goods waiting delivery, and more coming from Blooming Prairie Natural Foods.

It is critical that folks interested in land support contact the Twin Cities Dineh Defense Alliance to receive information as well as non-violence and cultural awareness trainings. Summer activist caravan departures are tentatively set for **June 15 and July 15.** Funding and supplies will be collected and sent with the caravan.

Call (612) 362-5964 for more information.

FROM BIG MOUNTAIN TO MINNESOTA

Two Big Mountain Resistors will visit the Twin Cities May 26th, 27th and 28th. Louise Benally and Joella Ashkie, representatives of the Sovereign Dineh Nation/Dineh Alliance, will be in town to share their stories with Twin Cities supporters at a number of events, including a Benefit Concert on Tuesday, May 27th. One of the most important aspects of our support work is to allow the Dineh to speak for themselves. Please join us during these very important events. See the calendar for times and locations.

UPDATE SINCE APRIL 1st the resistance continues

April 1 marked the deadline for Dineh (Navajo) families living on the Hopi Partitioned Land (HPL) around Big Mountain to sign 75 year leases known as the "Accommodation Agreement". This agreement was a product of the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996 (Public Law 104-301) and forces the Dineh people on the land to accept Hopi Tribal Council jurisdiction.

Dineh Resistors have complained that the Agreement is unfair since it places unreasonable limitations on grazing, restricts traditional religious practices and prohibits burials on the land. Those who have signed the lease as a way to remain on the land could still be evicted for any infringement of these restrictions. Also the leases are only binding for the lifetime of the signer, so they cannot be handed on to future generations.

It was widely reported in the mainstream press that 70% of Big Mountain residents signed on to the Accommodation Agreement by April 1. These reports are very misleading and should not be taken to mean that the Dineh people have lessened their resolve to fight against relocation. In reality the 1996 Act identifies a mere 73 "heads of households" as representing the over1500 people left on the land. In many cases these people are elders who are the most isolated and vulnerable to harassment and intimidation.

The U.S. government is so eager to resolve the alleged "land dispute" that it was willing to pay the Hopi Tribal Council $25 million dollars if they could get 85% of these heads of households to sign the Accommodation Agreement. This pay off was ostensibly to settle lawsuits filed by the Hopi Tribal Council against the federal government for its interference with Hopi jurisdiction on the HPL. What it really amounts to however, is the US government paying a bounty for every signature that tribal authorities can coerce out of the elders on the land.

The families that refused to sign the Accommodation Agreement have until July 1 to "voluntary" relocate before being forcibly evicted. Reports of harassment by BIA officials and Hopi Rangers increased around April 1st along with widespread livestock impoundments. Since then, livestock impoundments have reportedly declined in the face of increased media attention and a call for an end to impoundments by Navajo Tribal President, Albert Hale. The Dineh Alliance has filed a restraining order with Navajo Tribal Court against the Hopi Tribal Council, to guard against harassment and forced evictions.

Kee Watchman, a Dineh Medicine Man, is currently in Europe and has met with the President of France and will be appearing before the Belgian, Flemish and German parliments. He has requested from the United Nations that an inspector be sent to Arizona to investigate violations of the Dineh's religious freedom. Unfortunately, this decision would need to be approved by the United States delegation and the Justice Department.

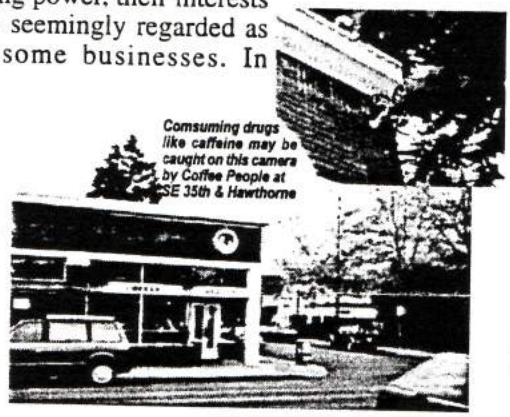
The Sovereign Dineh Nation/Dineh Alliance is in serious need of funds to help them keep their office open and to continue their legal defense work. Unless $500 is raised they will be forced to abandon their office that has been crucial to the resistance. Make Checks or Money Orders Payable to: "SDN/Dineh Alliance Legal Defense Fund" Don't Waste Arizona6205 S. 12th St., Pheonix, AZ 85040

The PEOPLE'S #11 POLICE REPORT

Published three times a year by **Portland Copwatch/POPSG** April 1997

HAWTHORNE COPWATCH BEATS BEGIN

In recent months we have received an increasing number of calls about police misconduct in the Hawthorne district. Members of the community have reportedly been harassed, mistreated and/or arrested at the urging of some area businesses. Further increasing tensions were the decisions by Coffee People to install an outdoor security camera and hire private security. As those who are usually subject to police (and private security force) misconduct in this area are young and lacking spending power, their interests and well-being are seemingly regarded as unimportant by some businesses. In response to these issues, Copwatch has initiated a beat on Hawthorne.



Comsuming drugs like caffeine may be caught on this camera by Coffee People at SE 35th & Hawthorne

What is a 'Beat'?

A "beat" is a project that consists of community outreach, education, and police observation. Through face to face interaction, the Copwatchers work to build community and solidarity as well as to educate the public about their rights. In addition to conversation, the Copwatchers distribute information about the law, civil rights, and courses of action available when one has been the victim of police misconduct.

The right to observe the police in their interaction with the public is a basic civil right that most people never exercise. The usual response when police are taking action against a civilian is to turn one's head or leave the area. Copwatchers hope to encourage everyone to observe the *(continued on p. 2)*

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AT RISK

The Metropolitan Human Rights Commission (MHRC), is currently composed of 15 citizen volunteers and 6 staff. City Commissioner Jim Francesconi is proposing that to remove the citizen volunteer component and discontinue the group's human rights advocacy and policy review functions. He also proposes to keep a smaller staff, housed in the Office of Neighborhood Associations whose only function would be to provide services to citizens and community groups.

The commissioners of the MHRC are *(continued on p. 5)*

Inside:

- *Report: Immigrants Harassed by Oregon Police.....2*
- *Update on Chicago arrests.....3*
- *Police Review Board Activity.....5*

The Oregonian

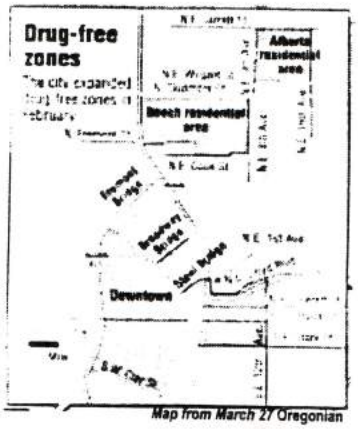
ZONED OUT

DRUG FREE ZONES EXPANDED
Constitutional Challenge In Progress

On February 12 the Portland City Council voted to expand both the boundaries and penalties associated with the "Drug Free Zones" (DFZ's) downtown and on the east side. The Drug Free Zones are areas set up by the Portland Police and City Council with a lot of input from downtown businesses. If you are arrested for a drug offense in one of these zones, you can be issued an Exclusion Order, barring you from this part of town--or any other declared DFZ--for 90 days. The exclusion is effective immediately--before a trial, regardless of whether you are ever convicted. (Figure the targets are usually homeless or Latino folks the cops pick on for a bit of harassment.)

According to an excellent article on the DFZ's in the February 28 *PDXS*, two-thirds of the current list of 500 excluded people are people of color, and 43 percent of the list are Latinos.

The Council's vote enlarged the Zone from Old Town south to Clay Street and created two new zones in sizeable areas of Northeast Portland. In addition to the 90 day exclusion on arrest, those actually convicted of drug offenses will be excluded from the enlarged Zones for one year. If you work or live in the Zone, you may be given a "variance", which means you have to walk along a specific path to work or home, and if you stray from that path, you are trespassing.



Map from March 27 Oregonian

The Thursday, March 27 *Oregonian* reports that a private attorney, Philip Lewis, challenged an exclusion order given for a "prostitution-free zone," which operates in a similar manner. Pointing out that a person is punished by being banned from an area before receiving a sentence, he successfully argued that the ordinance violates the 5th amendment's protection against double jeopardy. While this is an admirable argument, it hardly covers all the constitutional issues raised by these ordinances. The *Oregonian* states that another exclusion, from a city park, was also challenged on those *(continued on p. 4)*

OREGON STUDY FAULTS POLICE ON TREATMENT OF IMMIGRANTS

by Jonathan Brier

Excerpted from CAUSA '98's "The State of Immigrants' Rights in Oregon: Backlash Against Latinos from September 1995-January 1997." For copies of this report and more information on current anti-immigrant legislative and referendum activities, contact CAUSA '98 at (503) 363-1895. To contact Foro de la Comunidad, a Latino-based police accountability project in Woodburn, call (503) 982-0243. For a more comprehensive examination of anti-immigrant backlash and attacks on affirmative action in Oregon, contact the American Friends Service Committee at 230-9427.

A recent report documents more than 140 human and civil rights violations against Latinos which occurred in Oregon over the last 18 months. The report was prepared by CAUSA '98, a statewide immigrants' rights coalition. The complaints involved police harassment, discrimination by schools and businesses, exploitation of workers, threats from individuals, abusive treatment from government agencies and denial of health care services. Such abuses should be understood as everyday realities rather than anomalies in the lives of Latino residents. Further, they should be collectively recognized as the latest resurgence of anti-immigrant sentiment in modern Oregon history. At the same time, it is important to note the regularity with which Legal Permanent Residents and U.S. citizens (61% of the complainants) have been subject to the same human and civil rights violations that impact undocumented people in Oregon.

You might expect immigrants have a hard time in border states, as shown in this picture, but CAUSA's study shows that things aren't much better here in Oregon.

Photo from Der Spiegel via the Oct. '96 Workers Vanguard

The largest component of the findings (31%) centers around abusive treatment by law enforcement personnel. These incidents have most often involved police officers demanding and/or seizing an individual's Green Card after pulling over their vehicle on account of a minor or nonexistent traffic violation. Enforcement of immigration law by local, state and/or county police violates Oregon Revised Statute 181.850, which specifically prohibits cooperation between law enforcement officers and the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Several complaints described outrageous INS arrests and deportations in conjunction with police misconduct. For instance, in one incident, police entered and searched the home of a Legal Permanent Resident house without a search warrant. They arrested him for having a firearm with a permit and turned him over to the INS for deportation. In another incident, police threw a resident without legal documentation through a wall and refused him medical attention before delivering him to the INS for deportation. The INS abducted a political refugee when she attempted to renew her work visa, deported her that same day and, upon investigating her former residency, falsely informed her relatives that she was being held in Portland. Other types of complaints included police officers spraying mace on non-threatening individuals, frisking individuals for "looking suspicious," an injurious handcuffing, and locking up a juvenile suspect with adults.

CAUSA '98 offers four recommendations with respect to abusive law enforcement policies and conduct by officers:

1) No enforcement of Federal immigration laws by local law enforcement agencies: POLICE SHOULD STOP SEIZING RESIDENCE CARDS IMMEDIATELY;

2) Authentic civilian review boards should be implemented with adequate Latino and immigrant representation, in conjunction with Foro de la Comunidad and other community-based organizations. Prospects for civilian review boards to which INS enforcement officers would be accountable must be seriously investigated;

3) Policymakers should dedicate more public attention and resources to strengthening anti-discrimination and hate crime laws while supporting the creation of meaningful community policing programs and hate crime police units; and

4) Hate crime laws should include "Immigration Status" as a protected category, while legal information on how to report hate crimes should be made more readily available to the public.

Jonathan Brier is a research consultant to the Researching Justice '96 project.

COPWATCH BEATS

(contiunued from p.1)

police in their daily relations with civilians, including searches and arrests. This is the most basic and grassroots way to build police accountability. As Copwatchers never interfere with police business, an officer who is without illegal or unethical intentions has no reason to resent Copwatchers. Copwatchers carry incident report forms, still cameras, and video cameras to document incidents of police misconduct and hold police accountable for their actions. Everyone participating in the Hawthorne beat project has received training from Portland Copwatch regarding relevant laws, rights, and nonviolence, but anyone can be a Copwatcher. The message here reaches beyond any particular neighborhood or police department. No beat can be everywhere all the time, but Copwatchers hope to provoke the thought that each and every one of us has the right to observe the police, and that eternal vigilance is the only thing that will bring true accountability. We urge everyone to be a Copwatcher wherever they go. More often than not, you may end up observing only a routine traffic stop where the officer is polite and respectful. All the better. Perhaps your presence encouraged that behavior. More importantly, when we begin to create communities in which everyone exercises their right to observe the police, we send a strong message that misconduct and brutality by those wielding power will be neither ignored nor tolerated.

Why Hawthorne?

The Hawthorne district was chosen for this project because of the increasing number of complaints we received about police misconduct there. Furthermore, this area is one that members of Reed and Portland Copwatch feel they, to varying degrees, belong to. The beat will be taking place every first and third Wednesday of the month, from 6 to 8 pm (hours will probably change as summer approaches), between 32nd and 42nd Avenues. We walk around in groups of two or three and carry clipboards, so we should be easy to spot if you'd like to say hello. At press time, the group had gone out only once and an overwhelming majority of those we encountered were quite receptive to the project.

Our previous beats in the downtown/Old Town area were discontinued in fall 1996 but we hope to get those going again sometime soon.

To get involved with this (or any other) project, or for information on starting a beat in your area, call Portland Copwatch at 236-3065. For information about Reed Copwatch, call the Student Action Office at 771-1112, x7875.

REED COPWATCH FORMED

In January, about ten students at Reed College formed Reed Copwatch. This group, based on the Reed campus, is modelled after, and will be working closely with Portland Copwatch on a variety of projects. Portland Copwatch was invited to present three workshops at Reed in January: Your Rights and the Police, The Police as a Tool of Political Repression, and a Copwatch training. These events were well-attended, and the Reed student body has generally been supportive of the new Reed affiliate. Two weeks later, the Student Senate allocated $360 for supplies necessary to begin the new beat on Hawthorne.

Reclaiming America for Christ

By Skipp Porteous

Directly across the street from the rising spire of the Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida sits an Olive Garden restaurant. While researching this article I stopped there for a late-afternoon lunch.

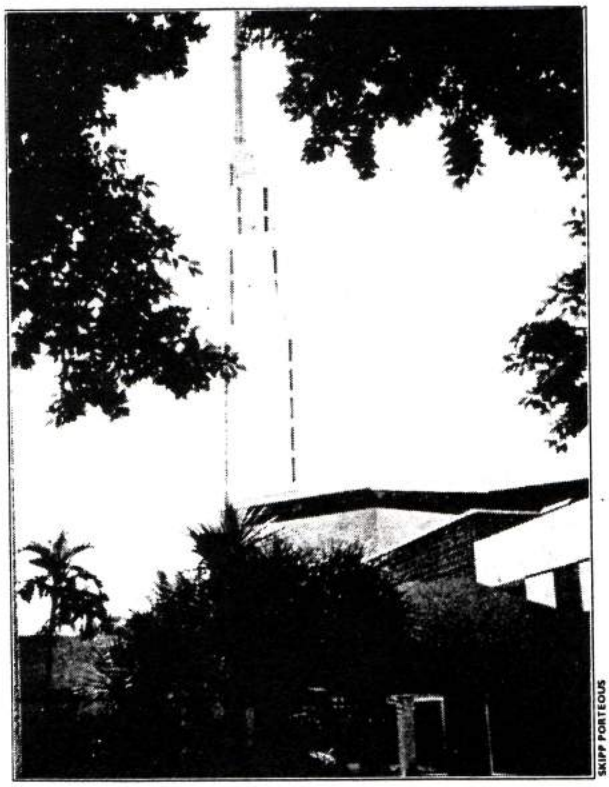
"So, what do you know about the church across the street?" I asked my congenial waiter.

"I hate them!" he exclaimed. "Well, I don't really hate them, but I think they're awful. I won't wait on them."

He explained that some of the of the church's members come to the Olive Garden after services. Instead of a leaving a tip, they're more apt to leave a religious tract.

"We have a waiter who is effeminate," he said. "When he waits on their tables they make all sorts of nasty remarks about him."

These diners are the disciples of the Rev. D. James Kennedy. Kennedy is a leader in the radical religious right's least talked about plan for Christianizing America — converting people, one at a time, until there are enough to make "very dramatic" changes in our society. The chances are, whether you live in a big city or a small town, his Christian missionaries are active nearby.



SKIPP PORTEOUS

Christian evangelism offends many, yet, it is perfectly legal. For Kennedy — and thousands of his ardent followers — it is the means by which Christians can take over the country.

"You cannot force a Christian ethic on a non-Christian culture," Kennedy said. "There is something very obvious — though Christianity is growing in this country, it is still far from being the controlling force. I am sure that only a Christian-controlled country is going to be able to stand up to the impending threat and avert the approaching disaster that our nation is facing."

Christian media has long recognized the influence of Rev. Kennedy, but only recently has the secular media become aware of Kennedy's political influence. Last year Gustav Niebuhr of *The New York Times* attended Kennedy's "Reclaiming America for Christ" conference in Fort Lauderdale. "The political power of religious conservatives may be most acutely felt in Washington," he observed, "but, the *basis* [emphasis added] for that power — the instruction and encouragement of the people who vote — takes place away from the politicians and polling booths, in church basements and at convention-style gatherings like one being held here."

In a 1980 sermon called "A Christian Offensive," Kennedy observed, "There are forty million people who claim to have been converted. If every one of those would simply win one other person to Christ in 1980, we could control this country. We have tremendous opportunities to preach the Gospel directly to millions of people by television and through Evangelism Explosion International. It is not an elective which certain Christians may choose. It is the command of our General! It is the marching orders of the army of Christ! If you claim to be a soldier in that army then you are under orders to go and tell, and not to do so is treason against the government of heaven."

In another sermon, called "The Christians are Coming!", delivered the Sunday after the Republicans gained control of Congress in 1994, Kennedy said that in 1988 only eighteen percent of those who voted said they were "evangelical born-again Christians." In 1992 that figure rose to twenty-four percent, and in 1994 thirty-three percent of those who voted said they were born-again Christians. About seventy percent of these voters voted Republican, according to Kennedy.

Kennedy claims that "the number of Christians in this country is growing 100 times faster than it was in 1900," and that "more of those Christians

Continued on next page

are getting involved in the political arena than ever before in history."

Christian evangelism is rooted in The Great Commission — the New Testament command to preach the Gospel in all the world. Kennedy links the Great Commission with a philosophy he calls "The Cultural Mandate." While most Christian evangelism emphasizes salvation to convince believers that they will go to heaven, Kennedy's emphasis is radically different.

According to Kennedy, God gave the world two mandates, "The Cultural Mandate He gave at the beginning of the world, and the Great Commission He gave at the beginning of the Christian era after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ; the former at the dawn of creation, the latter at the dawn of the new creation. Man is to subdue the earth and have dominion over all its creatures. This is called 'The Cultural Mandate' because it deals with all culture as we know it. As God's junior partners we are to rule over the earth in His name."

This dogma is virtually the same as R.J. Rushdoony and Gary North's radical Christian Reconstructionism. In fact, Kennedy has called the Bible commentaries by those men "essential" works.

An early proponent of a Christian America, in 1967 Kennedy launched Evangelism Explosion International ("EE"), a sophisticated 13-week training seminar in discipleship. Discipleship teaches converts how to create more converts. Discipleship also teaches its adherents a particular political point of view. This facet is important because mere adherence to born-again Christianity is not tantamount to holding radical right political views; there are socially liberal born-again Christians. However, Christian converts have opened their minds to a new way of looking at life and are therefore vulnerable to radical concepts.

As an example of the power of EE, Kennedy started his church with an enrollment of 36, and during his tenure at Coral Ridge has added 9,000 members using EE techniques. An ongoing program, the church calendar at Coral Ridge is structured so that every member has the opportunity to undergo EE training. Evangelism Explosion is the most intensive evangelism training in the world today. It is used by hundreds of conservative Christian churches across the country, and has made inroads into every single country in the world.

The Rev. Jerry Falwell used to say that the mission of the church was three-fold: "To get people saved, baptized, and registered to vote." Kennedy would add, "and get them trained in political activism."

Toward this end, Coral Ridge Ministries holds an annual political training conference called Reclaiming America for Christ Conference. The Reclaiming America conference is one of the church's major annual events. Held in March, this year's event at the Ft. Lauderdale Convention Center and Coral Ridge church, and drew nearly a thousand activists from thirty nine states, and featured Christian Coalition executive director Ralph Reed as the keynote speaker. Political workshops dealt with a variety of issues, including Transforming America, Pro-Life, Public School Textbooks, How to Organize at the Grassroots Level, and the Homosexual Agenda.

Coral Ridge church also hosts local Christian Coalition meetings in its Evangelism Explosion Hall. In addition, Coral Ridge houses the Center for Reclaiming America in order to carry out the mission of the Reclaiming America conference throughout the year. The Center conducts grassroots political training seminars with visiting faculty from other politically active Christian organizations. Additionally, the Center is home to the "Office of Traditional Values-based Legislation." The purpose of this office is to "draft model legislation with a biblical perspective — bills submitted in individual states where the real impact of the law is felt." This focus on state legislation is further evidence of the increasing political emphasis of the religious right.

D. James Kennedy exerts his influence in Washington through his Center for Christian Statesmanship. The purpose of this Washington office is "to offer spiritual counsel to members of Congress and their staffs." Frank Wright, the center's director, is known for his antiabortion and antipornography activities. "We think the staffers are the key to what goes on up there [on the Hill]," Wright told *The New York Times*. Although the Washington office ostensibly functions to provide spiritual counsel to government officials, Kennedy keeps in direct touch with numerous politicians,

TOUGH LOVE

An article in *Communicator* [January 1997], Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church's in-house publication, called "Let's Make Tougher Laws Against Criminals," advocated involuntary servitude for convicted felons. For example, the writer, Edward Hesson, a member of the church and the Christian Coalition of Broward County, proposed that prisoners be secured to treadmills connected to electric generators. The electricity generated by the prisoners would then be sold to Florida Power & Light. Felons would be required to stay in prison until they generated enough electricity to pay their victims. He also called for a mandatory 10 year prison sentence for drug users, and "life and a day for convicted drug dealers."

thus expanding his own opportunities for political influence.

In the mind of D. James Kennedy, Christians are superior citizens because they possess an understanding that unbelievers lack. "It seems that somehow or another only the converted mind (the regenerate mind) is able to understand what is going on in the world; what the Communists are really up to; what Satan's intentions are," he said. "Most unbelievers do not even believe in Satan and cannot understand his tactics."

For Kennedy, the conclusion is clear; Christians are America's only hope. "I am afraid that unless this country is taken over by Christians so that we have a Christian consensus, we are going to find that when it really gets tough, the unbelieving world, the Western world, is not going to be willing to stand."

Ordained by the Presbyterian Church in America in 1959, Kennedy, now 66, founded the Calvinist-oriented Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church a year later. Often referred to as "Dr." Kennedy, he holds a Ph.D. in world religion, which he earned at New York University in 1979.

Although D. James Kennedy is one of America's foremost enemies of the separation of church and state, he is practically unknown to mainstream America. On the other hand, Kennedy is extremely popular among evangelical Christians who delight in his sermons opposing abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and the American Civil Liberties Union. (According to Kennedy, gay men and women are "a curse against our nation," and claims that "Any person who practices sexual immorality and who does not repent and turn from it to Christ to find forgiveness will spend eternity in Hell.")

His nationally syndicated Sunday morning TV program, "The Coral Ridge Hour," airs on approximately 470 stations nationwide; and his radio program, "Truths that Transform," airs on approximately 237 radio outlets.

His television and radio programs are platforms for such personalities as anti-church/state separationist David Barton, Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry, Christian Reconstructionists R.J. Rushdoony and Gary North, and Christian Identity leader Pete Peters.

A member of the secretive Council for National Policy, Kennedy has strong bonds to many radical religious right groups. These include the Coalition on Revival and the Christian Coalition. In 1994, Kennedy spoke at the Christian Coalition's annual "Road to Victory" convention in Washington.

Other enterprises of Coral Ridge

KENNEDY, page 9

THE QUOTABLE D. JAMES KENNEDY

"We hear today that this is a pluralistic nation and that it is not a Christian nation. But Christianity itself, general Christianity, was conceived as the support of all our government." — *"God and Country" sermon*

"Indeed, this is a nation that was founded by men and women who were Christian. Some were not. But even those who were not embraced the Christian world and life view that was almost universally prevalent at the time and according to the dictates of the Word of God." —*"God and Country" sermon*

Kennedy quotes Charles Hodge, a 19th century theologian: "The proposition that the United States of America are a Christian and Protestant nation, is not so much the assertion of a principle as the statement of fact." —*"God and Country" sermon*

"There has been a concerted effort to disconnect America — modern America — from its religious roots. To transplant, if you will, the tree of American civilization from the Puritan soil in which it grew." — *"The Bible and the Constitution" sermon*

"The United States Constitution left the regulation of religion right where it was in the hands of the churches and the states. Remember, that when the First Amendment was drafted, nine of the thirteen states had established religions and they were all some denomination of the Christian religion." — *"The Bible and the Constitution" sermon*

■ ***KENNEDY, from page 5***

Ministries include Westminster Academy, a K-12 Christian school with 1,150 students; and Knox Theological Seminary, whose purpose is to "fulfill the Cultural Mandate by preparing faithful servants of Christ for the 21st century." Knox has campuses in Fort Lauderdale and Colorado Springs, Colorado.

Ultimately, Kennedy believes all political struggles entail a battle between God and Satan, and the players in those political encounters are either on God's side or Satan's.

"It is important that we understand that this is ultimately a theological battle in which we are engaged," Kennedy said, "not a battle between mere economic outlooks or various political philosophies. It is a battle between Christ and Antichrist and his [followers]. Therefore, ultimately, it is a battle that will be won, not by bullets, but by beliefs."

Almost two decades ago, Kennedy helped set the agenda for the radical religious right by combining evangelism and political activism. He and other prominent conservative Christian leaders conceived an effective strategy to propel their movement into the 21st century.

"God has given us the Great Commission and the Cultural Mandate," Kennedy wrote in January of this year. "Neither one of them is sufficient alone to transform America into what its Founders intended it to be — a Christian nation."

"I would urge you," he pleaded, "to recommit yourself to the great principles that our Founding Fathers gave us in the founding documents of this nation; to strive by our prayers, our efforts, by our work, by our evangelization, to make this nation a Christian nation once more."

"C.S. Lewis put it so very interestingly," Kennedy observed, "'The most significant political action that any Christian can take...is to convert his neighbor.'"

D. JAMES KENNEDY

"The Founding Fathers knew that Isaiah 33:22 said, 'For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our king;' So here we see the tripartite division of government — as judge, lawgiver, and king. Those are the judiciary, the legislative and the executive branches of government ...thus we have this three-part division of our government."
— "The Bible and the Constitution" sermon

QUESTION OF THE MONTH

Is the religious right losing its punch?

The radical religious right is, and always will be, a minority. However, that is not to say that they are powerless. Taking advantage of voter apathy, the religious right makes its mark in low turnout elections. For example, approximately 10% of the eligible voters turn out for the typical school board election. When special interest groups organize through local churches and turn out their voters, they have a disproportionate impact at the polls.

The same is true for county Republican committees. Seats on these committees often go unclaimed. To take over the Republican Party, all the Christian Coalition had to do was to teach its members how to grab these county seats. That put them in a position to elect state and national delegates. So, even though the majority of rank-and-file Republicans are moderate, much of the party leadership has become right wing.

Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, is a brilliant strategist. In an effort to broaden the base of his organization he frequently comes close to disenchanting the coalition's core supporters.

Earlier this year, Reed announced the Christian Coalition's Samaritan Project, which is designed to reach minorities in the inner-cities. For some time he has sought the support of conservative Christians in the African-American community, who, for the most part, have viewed him with suspicion.

It is likely that the mostly white Christian Coalition isn't enthused with the Samaritan Project. So, around the end of March, Reed announced that the Christian Coalition had earmarked $2 million dollars to engage in the battle to institute school prayer. This is the kind of thing that appeals to the group's hard core members. So, what we see happening is an effort to broaden the base, without losing the core.

This non-election year is a good time to build and strategize. Next year, the Christian Coalition and its allies will work hard to maintain Republican control of Congress. Right now, they can save their strength.

To properly gauge the overall strength of the religious right, the movement must be viewed over time, not just by one election cycle. The leaders of the religious right learn from their mistakes, and they keep coming back. They are in this for the long haul. To overlook the serious threat the radical right poses to religious freedom and democracy would be to do so at our peril.

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STEPHANIE SINCLAIR/Detroit Free Press

Neighbors Robbie Mann, Fred Butson and Laura Marlow watch as state agents haul away Resistance Records CDs and other items.

Police raid skinhead record firm

Business offered hate tunes by mail

BY L.L BRASIER
Free Press Staff Writer

Highland Township

The mail order operation of one of the largest distributors of hate music and literature in North America was raided Wednesday in Highland Township for nonpayment of taxes.

For several months, Resistance Records, a company operated by Neo-Nazi skinheads, had been using a small, white house on a rural dirt road in Highland Township to run a mail-order business, officials close to the investigation said Wednesday. The group sells CDs, magazines, T-shirts and other items to people all over the world.

The office of state Attorney General Frank Kelley said occupants of the house had been under investigation for nonpayment of taxes. Michigan State Police and deputies from the Oakland County Sheriff's Department executed a search warrant.

Kelley's office declined to say what kind of taxes are unpaid. There were no arrests, although the tax investigation is continuing.

Witnesses said boxes of CDs, magazines and financial records were removed by police and placed into the back of a U-Haul truck.

Lisa Mann, 18, who lives next door, said the heavy-metal music contained references to Hitler and Nazis and song titles, such as "Race War Rising" and "Devoted to Satan."

Eric Wolf left the Highland Township house after the raid on the record company Wednesday. "This is a travesty," he said.

Members of the record company also distributed orange stickers that stated, "Earth's Most Endangered Species: The White Race. Help preserve it." The stickers provide a phone number for a catalog of books concerning Hitler and antigovernment sentiments.

"There will always be these hard-core hate groups," said Don Cohen, Michigan director of the Anti-Defamation League, on Wednesday.

"Our job is to expose them for what they are."

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